

# The Leader

"THE one Idea which History exhibits as evermore developing itself into greater distinctness is the Idea of Humanity—the noble endeavour to throw down all the barriers erected between men by prejudice and one-sided views; and by setting aside the distinctions of Religion, Country, and Colour, to treat the whole Human race as one brotherhood, having one great object—the free development of our spiritual nature."—HUMBOLDT'S COSMOS.

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## News of the Week.

Crisis continuing. Ministers develop a peculiar episode for existing in that state. Indeed, as some animals show unheard-of capacities for existing in monstrous states of air or heat, so Lord John and his colleagues display a power of maintaining life in impracticable positions. It is as wonderful as that of Mr. Crosse's Acari. You would have thought that no Ministry could have lived in the situation of last week; but, as if not content with achieving that marvellous feat, they have this week made the situation worse for themselves, and yet go on existing, to the astonishment of all beholders. Last week Lord John surprised the world by the execution of a little manoeuvre: he announced that he should put off the Budget and the income tax until after Mr. Baillie's motion of censure on the Ceylon affair, a procrastination which had the advantage of looking magnanimous, without being less a postponement of difficulties. At the beginning of this week, however, Mr. Baillie made an embarrassing counter-move, putting off his motion until after the Budget and income tax. Thus Lord John was left as he was before without any pretext for putting off the evil days. He had shown the disposition to procrastinate, but had not been allowed to do so.

While we write, the treatment of the Budget is matter of speculation. The rumours afloat are dictated by the manifest necessity that Sir Charles Wood should, in some degree, relinquish his position; and the popular notion, we know not on what authority it may be based, is, that the window-tax is to be repealed, the house-tax not imposed, and the income-tax renewed for one year.

But it still remains most uncertain whether the Russell Cabinet will survive to carry out its own Budget, or fulfil any intention of its own. Its restless uneasiness is betrayed on every occasion of doubt. Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Locke King, Lord Duncam, Mr. Baillie—all are sufficient to place Ministers in a position of jeopardy, if not to provoke a resignation. It seems to be generally presumed that no Ministry which could now enter office would risk the convenience of the respectable classes, by resorting to a general election; yet no party can get on with the existing Parliament, and already the more active constituencies are preparing for the contest, which may be put off, but cannot be prevented. It is the general desire to postpone the election however, which makes the Opposition so frequently waive its function, and permit the Government, not only to exist, but to continue its petty measures. This suffering, indeed, is of a kind the most precarious; it is as difficult to avoid giving the final stroke to an impossible Ministry as it is for a child to let a loose tooth alone. An instant's provocation, an irresistibly tempting opportunity, a sally of temper,

[TOWN EDITION.]

may upset Lord John once more, bring on a new crisis, and precipitate the general election. All parties should stand prepared for that contingency, with these further incidents—that the public never went to a general election with so damaged a faith in men and things as they now exist; that many prejudices much shaken only await a final concussion to be dispersed; and that great social questions, as yet hardly shaped for national discussion, are pressing with all the force of practical exigency. To judge by Mr. Drummond's sally of imaginative bigotry, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill may open the contest with a *sectarian general election*.

Lord Torrington has come forward on his own account, in the Upper House, challenging the prosecution of Mr. Baillie's charge against him. Practically, the charges against Ministers and their protégés are, gross misgovernment of Ceylon, wanton cruelty in suppressing the insurrection among the natives, and the parade of false evidence in their defence. But these matters will be best discussed when Mr. Baillie sets them before Parliament. Meanwhile, Lord Torrington must be content to bear the popular rule—of holding a man guilty till he is proved to be innocent.

Mr. Baring Wall has succeeded in referring Mr. William Williams's Sunday Trading Bill to a select committee. It is perfectly true that a day of rest should be secured to all classes, but it is equally true that many working people find great difficulty in supplying all their household wants by Saturday night, and that many a poor trader would find a large piece of his business annihilated. The fact is, that the measure ought to be preceded by others. When the working man ceases to toil from morning till night, when a fair time of labour gives him a fair return, then you may talk of protecting his Sunday.

A new dig has been made at the Knowledge taxes by the deputation to ask for the repeal of the advertisement duty. This claim labours under the disadvantage of being but too notoriously reasonable. The tax is protected by the circumstance that it is utterly unwarrantable. The two facts, taken together, enable the Minister to reply, as Lord John did, by admitting the case without defending the tax, except as an Exchequer necessity. Now, it is not an Exchequer necessity, or is so only under a generally vicious system of taxation. With a sound system of taxation, no tax would be maintained which should tend to suppress the article taxed, unless that were in its nature pernicious. The hardest pressure of the advertisement tax consists in preventing vast number of advertisements—limiting the number among those who do advertise, and totally preventing advertisements among very large classes. Of all the servants out of work very few advertise; of master workmen, working on their own account, perhaps none; of the inventors among the working classes,—a very considerable number,—hardly one. But

Sir Charles Wood says he wants the tax; so working men may go without their advertisement, and traders with one, where they might have five or six.

There is a confusion among the Bishops—a flaw in their authority. The Primate of all England tells nearly a quarter of a million clergymen and laymen, who present him an address, that he cannot do more against Puseyism than "discountenance" it; the Bishop of London talks to Lord Robert Grosvenor like a distressed mother whose boys are too big for her; the Bishop of Chichester amicably urges a clergyman of his diocese to bury Dissenters, but the Bishop admits that he cannot coerce the mutinous priest; the Bishop of Exeter is involved in a new baptismal quarrel, like that with Mr. Gorham, the present opponent being Mr. Codnor, a curate. Here and there we notice a disposition to get up Anti-State Church movements in various forms—refusal of Church-rates, and the like.

Austria has lost a point in that slow game of German politics. Bully Schwarzenberg has scared the kinglets out of their poor wits: they have all taken up the Wurtemberg dodge of a Federal Parliament, and are now huddling up to Prussia, who also takes the national cause to heart. King Frederick William is "going to" pluck up a spirit; and those notable bottle-holders, England and France, are setting him on, eager to get him into a scrape, let him come out of it as he may. Austria lowers her tone, for the present, and disavows all intentions of hostile attempts against her Swiss and Piedmontese neighbours.

These latter "organize themselves." They labour at new schemes of national education; improve their capital; put their free press to the test of use and abuse. From the rest of Italy melancholy news only—the Papal States eaten up by brigandage; the Pope startled by daily scuffles between his French and Roman soldiers; at Naples the King riding the high horse, with a braggart tongue and a cowering heart; the other petty Princes and their Ministers moving from court to court, restless, anxious, like cackling goslings terrified by the shriek of the unseen hawk.

In France the extinguisher has been at last laid on the National Guards. At Strasbourg they are no more: in Paris they were already reduced by three-fourths; they must now be brought to a level with the people, subjected to the electoral provisions of the 31st of May; undergo reorganization, reform, annihilation.

Louis Napoleon has made up his mind to keep his Ministers, at least until the great day of constitutional revisions. The Legitimists second him; the power that imbecile Chambord trifles with is to continue in the hands of the scarcely less imbecile Bonaparte. The bitterness of late discussions in the Assembly is sweetened by long debates on the sugar question. The Socialists at St. Amand have given signs of life: they have routed a sous-prefet

and his myrmidons, but were no match for a prefect and his praetorians.

In Poland, Warsaw is allowed the luxury of a daily paper. Sweden emancipates her Jews. Bagdad is in the hands of the Bedouins.

The discussion of the debt in the Cortes at Madrid is taken up and adjourned, and then again resumed and postponed, till it seems likely to last to eternity.

Among the many disasters and misdeeds of the week, the most signal are, the two explosions at Paisley and Stockport, and the two cases of ill-treating children at Dublin and Kingsland. In Dublin, a woman who had charge of an illegitimate child has starved it to indulge a hideous rapacity. At Kingsland, the victim is a lad whose treatment reminds one of that of Jane Wilbred, though by no means so horrible. The two explosions suggest the necessity of greater attention to the causes of disasters which involve such desperate loss of life: at Stockport, a new boiler exploded, reminding us of the fact how little the immediate cause of boiler explosions is understood; at Paisley, a notoriously dangerous mine exploded with repeated claps, burying numbers within, and we are reminded how much awaits to be done to perfect mining ventilation.

#### PARLIAMENT OF THE WEEK.

Lord John Russell's excuse for postponing the budget indefinitely, on the plea that Mr. Baillie's Ceylon motion must previously be disposed of, was rather unceremoniously put aside by the member for Inverness-shire. In reply to Lord John, on Monday evening, Mr. BAILLIE said he did not wish to obstruct public business, and, therefore, he would remove the notice from the books, reserving to himself the right of bringing it forward when the business of the country was in such a state that he could do so without incurring blame:

"I can understand the difficulties of the noble lord's position—I can understand also that the noble lord must be anxious to escape from them, and, perhaps anticipating defeat, he does not wish the trouble of preparing and bringing forward public measures which, as a Minister of the Crown, it is his duty to bring forward. But the noble lord is mistaken if he thinks that I will allow myself to be made the instrument of enabling him to escape from the duties which the position he has assumed and the great public exigencies of the country imperatively call upon him to perform. (Cheers.)

Lord JOHN RUSSELL was not at all satisfied with the course taken by Mr. Baillie. When a member of that House brought a charge involving an accusation of wanton cruelty against a late governor of a colony, and of unqualified approbation by the Secretary for the Colonies, they had a right to complain of that motion—which was clearly a vote of censure on one department of the Government—was put off indefinitely:

"I did not complain of the honourable gentleman having named an early day, because it is naturally to be supposed that he was anxious to bring on his motion upon the day named by him. He had framed his own motion and named his own day, and I had no reason to suppose that he would not propose to bring forward his motion upon that day. But what I said was, and what I feel justified in having said was, that any Government with such an accusation hanging over their heads—a vote of censure upon which no opinion has been pronounced—ought not to begin any great measure not already introduced into the House, until the House has given an affirmative or negative to that motion. (Hear, hear, and cheers.) I am exceedingly sorry to say, because it may comprehend not only the honourable gentleman, with regard to whose opinion I have nothing to say, but other honourable Members who intend to give their support to this motion, with regard to late transactions it was said, and very justly said, of all the parties in this country who may be expected to desire, or to assume the administration of affairs, their conduct was perfectly fair and honourable to each other. (Cheers.) And engaged as they were in hostility, no feeling of personal dissatisfaction, still less of personal animosity, was exhibited. (Cheers.) Now, sir, I rejoice in that being the opinion of the public, at that being the feeling of those who were engaged in those transactions; but I must say, if, in the conduct of a great party, we are to have a charge of wanton cruelty against a noble lord, a peer of the realm, lately the governor of a province, but now in this country, and of cognizance and approval of that wanton cruelty by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, indefinitely postponed—(great cheering)—that they will never tell us when they will bring that question before the House and put it to an issue—(renewed cheers)—then, I say, that opinion of correct, fair, and honourable conduct, on the part, at least, of the supporters of such a motion, must be greatly shaken. (Cheers.)"

Mr. DISRAELI thought the House ought to have more information before it was called upon to pronounce an opinion. Important documents, submitted to the Ceylon committee, had not been laid before the members. The report of the Ceylon commission had been laid before the House, but the evidence on which that report was founded had been instantly sent back to Ceylon, under the pretence that it was

required there, which was not the case. The copy of the evidence sent to this country was not the original one, but merely an authenticated copy. Under these circumstances the First Minister gets up, and in a tone of virtuous indignation appeals to the House against what he calls the unfair conduct of a great party:

"Sir, if the Minister had been in the position in which he would wish to be, we should not have heard these expressions; he himself would have been the last man to have wished the House of Commons to arrive at the conclusion of a great judicial question of so much importance, in the absence of these important documents."

Sir GEORGE GREY pointed out the discrepancy between Mr. Baillie's reason for postponement, and the one given by Mr. Disraeli. The former wished them to believe that he had postponed the motion lest it should interrupt public business; the latter told them that it was because Mr. Baillie was not prepared. Mr. ROEBUCK found fault with everybody, with Lord John for not bringing forward his budget in spite of the Ceylon question; with Mr. Baillie for postponing his motion to make way for the budget; and especially with Mr. Disraeli for trying to get up a defence of the postponement by "an afterthought, a quibble, a mere pretence. (Cheers.) The honourable member for Bucks actually fabricates—if I may use the term without offending the rules of the House—he actually makes a reason which the honourable Member for Inverness-shire never thought of. (Hear, hear.) The whole thing is really a party fight." This was not the way in which so serious a charge should be disposed of. "Common justice—(cheers)—ordinary good faith—(cheers)—plain, honest, good faith, and fair play require that there should be no shrinking from that charge." (Hear, hear, and loud cheers.) Sir BENJAMIN HALL followed in the same track, and asked why the charge was not made in the House of Lords, where Lord Grey and Lord Torrington could meet their accusers face to face.

Nothing having been said on Monday as to when the Budget would be brought forward, Mr. DISRAELI put the question to Ministers on Tuesday. Sir G. GREY said the first open night after the debate on the Papal Aggression Bill would be devoted to the Army estimates, but he could not at present say on what night the financial statement would be made. Lord TORRINGTON, emboldened by the success of Lord John on the postponement grievance, on Monday evening, made his appearance in the House of Lords on Tuesday, to give notice of his intention to bring the Ceylon question before the House of Lords on that day fortnight. A motion had been made in the other House, and then withdrawn for party purposes. That motion involved a charge of murder against him, and, therefore, he was anxious that it should be investigated without delay. He had no mysteries—nothing to conceal—and, therefore, he should state openly and honestly all that had taken place while the Government of Ceylon was under his direction.

The adjourned debate on the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was very dull. The discussion was opened on Monday evening by Mr. Moore, who attacked Sir Robert Peel for what he had said regarding Switzerland. The honourable baronet's denunciations of Popery he was not surprised to hear. The low Jacobins of the Continent were said to be the Gamaliels, at whose feet he loved to sit, and the expressions he had used were worthy of his tutelage; for he recognised in them the philosophy of Mazzini and the apostasy of Gavazzi. A petition signed by 40,000 Englishmen had been presented to the Queen, assuring her Majesty of their loyal devotion, and those who presented it were Englishmen, although Papists. Yet the honourable baronet thought it right to insinuate that these, his Roman Catholic fellow-subjects, were Jesuitical traitors. The manner in which the honourable baronet had discharged his duties in Switzerland was still recollecting by those who heard the debate on that question. But when the honourable gentleman spoke of the orders of neutrality which he had received from the Foreign Secretary, and the rigid manner in which he had followed them, he might have supposed that his Nemesis had joined in the loud laugh of derision with which the House had greeted the unmasking of a Jesuit on that occasion. After going through the whole question involved in the bill, he wound up by showing that the claim of the Church of Rome to jurisdiction over every baptized Christian was not more arrogant than that of other churches. But did not every church claiming to be the true church do the same thing. ("No, no!") Every bishop of the Established Church of England, every bishop in Scotland, and every bishop in what he might term the garrison Church of Ireland, claimed jurisdiction over the whole population of the country; yet the Catholic body were indifferent to this claim over their souls if the bishops of the Established Church would only keep their hands out of their pockets. In 1846, Lord John Russell undertook to run a muck against the apparently obsolete and useless statutes against the Roman Catholics, because he considered them absurd; and now, in 1851, "for a consideration," he was willing to insert into those

obsolete puerilities fresh grafts of fanaticism, which they had already seen the blossoms, but which they had yet to gather the fatal fruit. (Hear, hear.) Mr. WIGRAM was at great pains to prove that Roman Catholicism is a positive evil wherever it exists, from which it necessarily follows that it ought to be put down in the most effective manner. Mr. E. B. ROCHE insisted on a bill to exempt Ireland from the list of countries in which Roman Catholicism has been socially pernicious, as quoted Montesquieu to prove that religion can easily be put down by legislation. Mr. H. D. SYMES opposed the bill, though at the hazard of his seat. He looked upon it as a gross violation of religious liberty. Mr. GOULBURN declared his intention to vote for the bill, but he could not say that he approved of the proceedings of Government. He would have preferred more moderation at the beginning, and more firmness and consistency at the end. Mr. H. BARRON warned the Ministry that a hundred years would not see the end of this difficulty. This mad course would not produce a revolution in Ireland, but it would drive every man in the country every man with ten pounds in his pocket. Mr. CALVERT, the new member for Aylesbury, supported the bill, small though it was. It might be necessary to have recourse to further legislation; but he should not be sorry to have given a *locus panitentiae* —an opportunity for the Pope to withdraw his brief. Mr. CHAMBERS suspected that the present measure had arisen out of the same spirit of intolerance which had attached potato disease and the Irish famine to their harvests, whitewashed the walls and mended the windows of Maynooth College. ("Hear," and laughter.) The SOLICITOR-GENERAL restated the arguments on his side, and promised not only to give battle, but to defeat those of his antagonists. He put the Roman Catholic case thus:—"That the establishment of a hierarchy was essential to their religion—that, therefore, they were entitled to have it—that they could obtain it only from the Roman Pontiff; that, therefore, they were justified in having recourse to the Pope to obtain it—and that the Pope was entitled to grant it, and to do all that was necessary for the purpose of establishing it. These premises were not, he said, to support an egregious fallacy. But there was also the argument of pro-Papal Protection, which he put thus:—"That the Legislature had conceded to the Roman Catholics the free and unfeigned exercise of their religion—that the establishment of a hierarchy was essential to the free and unfettered exercise of their religion; and that, therefore, we were bound to permit the establishment of their hierarchy. Both involved the fallacy that, because a thing was desirable, the means used to achieve it were justifiable. Conceding the desirability of the object, he contended—precisely on the ground stated by previous speakers—that the clause proposed was illegal; that the fact of Roman Catholic bishops having *ex officio* control over certain parishes gave them a temporal character; and that they were not, according to the law of Europe and international usage, to be appointed without the consent of the sovereign. From what had taken place at Thundridge, augured great danger from permitting such action. The very words were ominous, and more so from the circumstances of the time. There was a schism in the Established Church of this country. (Hear, hear.) Multitudes, deluded by natural tendencies, and by a fondness for the pictorial religion (a laugh), were passing over to that which, if not the Roman Catholic religion, was something commonly like it. It was thought the time had come when a great blow might be struck—when the test might be renewed for the prerogatives, powers, advantages, and emoluments of the Church; and it was, therefore, incumbent upon the House to be watchful and wary. He would not consent to postpone decisive action until the danger became imminent, and the evil intolerable. (Cheers.) Mr. CARDWELL told the Government with the dishonourable traitorous action, if there had been a palpable violation of a prerogative and of international law. He admitted that it was necessary to restrict, for reasons of convenience, the action of ecclesiastical communities—just as we refused to the Established Church the powers of a convocation; and he thought the Roman Catholics might have consulted the feelings and wishes of this country—that they had, indeed, been guilty of a substantial aggression. They had turned their missionary church into a normal church, had thereby invaded the peace and tranquillity of the nation. (Cheers.) But the Ministerial measure provided nothing like a remedy for this. In political affairs, of all wars the worst was a little war; of all little wars the worst was a little civil war in religious matters. He should decidedly refuse to consent to the second reading of the bill.

The adjourned debate was resumed on Tuesday. Mr. BLEWITT, who quoted Lord Sydenham's speech of Lord John Russell, as "the most noble man he ever knew," but was forced to admit "the liberalism of the noble lord was fast falling in the sear and yellow leaf." If the noble lord was seriously of returning to primitive Christianity, he would go along with him, but he would be sorry

to branding with the name of mummeries and superstition the rites and observances of a large portion of his fellow countrymen. Sir RALPH LOPEZ gave his assent to the bill in the hope that some salutary measure would be introduced hereafter. Mr. WALTER conceded that the Pope had violated the provisions of the very act of Parliament from which Roman Catholics derived their right to sit in that House, and who had contravened the law of nations. The act of 1829, according to the plain construction of the clause, was not limited to existing sees. Sir JAMES GRAHAM had suggested the difficulty of distinguishing between a "district," the term used in the Charitable Bequests Act, and a diocese; but he had himself furnished a distinction in his speech upon that act. If the measure of the Pope were allowed to take effect in this realm, this would be the only country in which the development of the Roman Catholic hierarchy was permitted without the control of the State. Though this country might be in no danger of receiving detriment at the hands of the Pope, we were, nevertheless, bound to resist the pretensions of an adversary who wanted the power, but not the will, to enforce them. It would be dangerous to allow the Church of Rome to decide the limits of spiritual jurisdiction, and still more so to permit her to determine questions of a mixed character. The State owed to its subjects of every religion a protection against abuses of spiritual authority by their superiors. In almost all continental countries the State exercised a control over even the spiritual acts of the Church; and if this was so in Roman Catholic countries, why was this control to be denied to the State? He did not regret the agitation to which Lord J. Russell's letter had given rise, since it would have the effect of opening the eyes of Roman Catholics—amongst whom there prevailed a mistaken idea as to the state of religion in this country—to the deep-rooted Protestantism of the people; and it would teach them to be cautious how they attempted to put in practice here an organized system of proselytism. Let the House, he said, be assured that if the people were once possessed with the idea that there existed any danger of Roman Catholic unmarried priests setting themselves up side by side with the Protestant clergy; of dying bequests being intercepted; of the educational being introduced as a general rule; of young women being seduced into convents; and if they felt that the law would not protect them, they would be very much disposed to take the law into their own hands. As regarded Ireland, he could only say that, although it was not his intention to oppose the extension of this measure to Ireland, he should have been equally willing to leave it out of the question. That unhappy country had enjoyed for so many years a prescriptive right to every species of abuse and misrule, that he should be sorry to deprive it, in this instance, of a privilege it had so long possessed. Mr. ANSTY advised Lord John to drop this bill and introduce one dealing, not with names, but realities. Lord ASHLEY insisted that the main question was—shall Parliament come to the rescue of the Queen, to maintain the rights of the people, and to assert the civil and religious liberties of half mankind. Mr. Palmer had maintained the broad proposition that everything done by the Pope was justifiable because founded upon the concession of liberty of conscience, and because it was necessary for spiritual development. If this proposition were admitted, all that was left to us was submission; but Mr. Palmer's definition of "liberty of conscience" ignored at once the prerogative of the Crown and the rights and liberties of the whole mass of our Protestant fellow-subjects. This bill was called persecution. How could it be persecution merely to forbid a foreign potentate to confer territorial titles? It was a new plea, not thought of in 1829, that such titles were necessary for the development of spiritual functions. If there was any persecution in this matter, it was upon the Roman Catholic laity, forcing them to choose between ultramontane obsequience and British loyalty. Lord Ashley took a rapid view of the vicissitudes, the onward action, the wading energy, and the oppressive domination of the Romish see, and urged the danger of affording to its spirit of encroachment the facilities of an organized hierarchy and synodical action, which gave to the canon law its force and also its peril—a law that would alter many obligations, public and private, in society, law, and politics. The measure before the House might not be strong enough to grapple with so wily and Protean an adversary; but they did not confide in legislation only—they trusted to the convictions and attitude of the people. "Happen what may, we stand upon the foundations of that immortal faith which we have neither the right nor the disposition to surrender." Mr. SIDNEY HERBERT could see no connection between the threatened dangers and the bill that was to defend us from them.

"Call Dr. M'Hale Archbishop of Timbuctoo, instead of Tuam, would he be the less able to withhold the Sacraments from laymen? (Hear, hear.) Would all the Irish embarrasments be got rid of, and the spiritual power of the Roman Catholic Church be suppressed? (Hear.) Why, there was no logical connection between the two things; and it was pitiable to hear men get up one after the other, and night after night, declaiming against the

Roman Catholic religion, and then say, because this is so—because it is so hostile to civil and religious liberty in Italy, Spain, &c.; therefore all this must be got rid of, and an Intolerant Church made meek and humble by calling Dr. Wiseman Archbishop of Melipotamus instead of Westminster. (Hear.) The measure was a mere sham, which would not bear a moment's examination (Hear, hear), and he regretted to hear men, able and acute, committing themselves to an argument which had not a rag of reason or logic to rest upon. (Hear, hear.)"

If the object was to deal with the Pope, to restrain his action in Ireland, and the circulation of his bulls—which would not be prevented by this bill—why not legislate directly against that foreign potentate, and not against the Roman Catholics only? Although the Roman Catholic religion had made considerable progress in England, there was, he believed, no time since the Reformation when England had shown a greater determination to adhere to Protestantism; and his conviction was that the doctrines of the Church of Rome were foreign to the genius of the English people. Lord PALMERSTON had hoped that, when the principle, not of toleration, but of religious freedom, had been established, these odious controversies would never be heard within the walls of Parliament. But whose fault was it that it was not so? That of a foreign potentate, who had committed an aggression upon the sovereignty of this country. He would never consent to be a party to anything like penal enactments, and he denied that the bill deserved to be so characterized. It was merely the complement of the measure of emancipation; in principle it was precisely the same; whilst it applied directly to the evil for which a remedy was required, without imposing any restriction upon the Roman Catholic hierarchy incompatible with their sacred duties.

The Sunday Trading Prevention Bill was read a second time, and referred to a select committee, on Wednesday, after a short discussion. Mr. W. Williams, who said he had taken charge of the bill at the request of a large number of his constituents who were Sunday traders, urged the necessity for such a measure on the ground of humanity. He did not take it up as a religious question, but simply on the ground that Sunday ought to be a day of rest:—

"Amongst the evidence before the Lords' committee, a journeyman, in a large clothing establishment, stated that his employers opened on Sunday morning at seven o'clock with a display of all kinds of articles, and kept open whilst persons were going to church. A journeyman butcher stated that they commenced business at four o'clock on Saturday morning, and kept open until half-past twelve at night, and then again at seven o'clock on Sunday morning until one. A journeyman grocer stated that his employer commenced business at four o'clock on Saturday morning, and kept open until half-past eleven at night, and began again at seven o'clock on Sunday morning for several hours, and that was the general practice in the trade amongst the shops that opened on Sunday. Here were men compelled to work for twenty hours in one day, and he would ask what condition of slavery was more worthy their pity than that of men forced to such incessant toil by the hard necessity of the custom of the trade?"

Mr. B. WALL opposed the bill, which he characterized as one of the most mischievous, irritating, anomalous, and uncalled for measures ever brought before the House. Mr. LENNARD took the same view. The measure would operate in a most ruinous and oppressive manner against the working classes, and was supported by none except those who strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel. An amendment that the bill be read a second time that day six months was withdrawn, on the understanding that the select committee shall hear evidence.

The dulness which had characterized the debate up to Thursday evening was suddenly transformed into violent excitement by Mr. Drummond. The adjourned discussion had been opened by Mr. NEWDEGATE, who introduced Miss Talbot and her fortune of £80,000. He asked "what the Lord Chancellor was about? He, the keeper of the Queen's conscience, the highest functionary of the land, her (Miss Talbot's) legal father, sat impotently by and saw every insidious art made use of to wring from that unhappy girl the means of aggrandizing the order to which she belonged. It was absurd to talk of religious liberty while such things existed." He was followed by two Irish members, Mr. KNOX, who condemned the measure as not going far enough, and Dr. POWER, who opposed all legislation on the subject. About a dozen members then rose all at once, but the Speaker called upon Mr. DRUMMOND, who began by saying that the real question they had to discuss was whether the Roman Catholics should remain a tolerated sect under the spiritual dominion of the Queen, or whether the Queen should be a licensed heretic under the spiritual dominion of the Pope. The question would not be settled by the bill before the House, nor by a hundred such bills. The Pope had raised a storm in this country which would not be quiet again in the lifetime of any one present. He proceeded to make the most outrageous charges against Roman Catholics. He alluded to Miss Talbot:—

"The poor girl, locked up in that prison till she was starved or flogged to death, till the priests should get her money, did she want protection? (Cries of 'Oh, oh!')

Why raise the cry of 'Oh?' He spoke from what he had seen with his own eyes. Nunneries were either prisons or brothels; honourable members might take their choice of the expression. (Cries of 'Oh, oh!')

The Earl of ARUNDEL and SUNDRY and several Irish Members rose to ask the Speaker to call Mr. DRUMMOND to order; but the latter, who had not been out of order, according to the Speaker, went on in the same style. He quoted the *Exercises of Loyola*, to show that Roman Catholics are taught to hold white to be black if the Church orders them to do so.

"If there is one thing on which the people are at the present moment more unanimous than another, it is in an honest John Bull hatred of imposture. (Cheers) Everything like imposture they detest; and, above all, they scorn those who are importing cargoes of blinking statues, bleeding pictures, liquifying blood, and drops of the Virgin Mary's milk. (Groans, cockerowing, exclamations of 'Oh, oh! and all sorts of inexplicable noises) Why do you call 'Oh, oh?'"

Another scene of confusion ensued. Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL moved the adjournment of the House, which was seconded by Mr. PHILIP HOWARD, but the Speaker declined to put the motion. Those who interrupted Mr. DRUMMOND were out of order. Mr. DRUMMOND finished his speech amidst the most extraordinary confusion, cock-crowning, and all manner of disorderly Parliamentary noises. At the close of his speech the House presented a scene of great excitement, honourable members assembling together in groups and engaging in earnest conversation. Mr. GRATTAN crossed the House, and addressed a few words to Mr. DRUMMOND, accompanied by very animated gesticulations. Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR interposed his person between the honourable gentlemen. Mr. GRATTAN returned to his seat. Mr. DRUMMOND followed Mr. GRATTAN, addressed some observation to him, and left the House. Several honourable members (the majority of whom were Irish) crowded round Mr. GRATTAN, and entered into eager discussion, and Mr. FEARGUS O'CONNOR repaired to the Treasury Bench and made some communication to Sir George GREY.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM, who next spoke, treated the question entirely on political grounds. He hardly knew, however, whether to argue upon the bill in its original or its present state, for while Lord John RUSSELL had declared that the second and third clauses would operate in a way he did not desire, it was the opinion of the best lawyers that the first clause would do the work of the second and third. If that were so, Government ought to vote against its own bill. And if the character of this bill were such as had been described by the SOLICITOR-GENERAL, this was a heavier blow at the religious liberties of the Irish Catholics than had ever been struck by the old penal laws. He concluded by declaring that this was a measure not demanded by England, hateful to Ireland, and he trusted that the wisdom of Parliament would prevent it from passing into a law. Lord JOHN RUSSELL contended that the bill could not be considered as one of persecution, seeing that the Catholics of Ireland had been, uncomplainingly, under a similar law for one-and-twenty years; he believed that the Catholic prelates would bow to the decision of Parliament. But if further aggressions took place, if Ireland were to be deprived of mixed education, or the servants of the Crown were sought to be deterred from their duty by spiritual menaces, other legislation might be necessary, even for the benefit of the Catholics themselves. This was not mainly a question between Catholic and Protestant, but between British Catholics and Rome—a fact which had been a good deal lost sight of in the debate. He trusted to see the Catholic laity revolt against the aggression, and declared that as regarded that body he had always done his utmost to carry out the principle of the act of 1829. In answer to Sir JAMES GRAHAM, he said that his apprehensions of Papal supremacy were not feelings of which he ought to be ashamed, seeing that he held them in common with Milton, Locke, Hampden, Pym, Lord Somers, and other illustrious persons, and he refused, while remaining what he had ever been, a friend to religious liberty, to confound that cause with the Papal encroachment. He declared himself ready to abide by all the sentiments in the Durham letter, but said that it had been much misrepresented, and entered into some explanation respecting its meaning, describing it as simply an appeal to the popular feeling in favour of civil and religious liberty, denying that the measure introduced into the House fell short of any reasonable expectations founded on the letter to the bishop. The debate was then adjourned till last evening.

**REGISTRATION OF ASSURANCES.**—Lord CAMPBELL, in moving the second reading of the Registration of Assurances Bill on Monday evening, detailed at some length the technical formulary by which the measure is designed to provide for a regular registry of all titles to estates and real property, with the object of securing and facilitating sales and transfers of such property, and affording a better security for loans on mortgage. After a short conversation, in which Lord BEAUMONT, Lord BROUGHAM, and Lord CRAWFORD joined, the bill was read a second time and referred to a select committee.

## INTELLIGENCE FROM ABROAD.

The battle of the National Guards has been fought and lost. The Provisional Bill for adjourning the elections of the officers of that Citizen Militia was adopted in the National Assembly by a majority of 418 to 239. The minority is made up of mere Republicans, both Red and Moderate, though it numbers also a few old soldiers, such as Fabvier, Gourgaud, Grammont, and Lucien Murat, who belong to the Bonapartist party. The Government gave its vote with Legitimists and Orleanists; as the dread of a republican result of elections based on the principle of universal suffrage prevailed with Louis Napoleon and his party over all personal interests and all other political considerations. The President, it seems, will rather cease to be than owe his existence to the people.

The discussion has been represented as stormy. Not only the most fiery Republicans, but even the Arcadian Lamartine and Generals Lamoricière and Cavaignac spoke warmly in behalf of the National Guards, and protested against the sheer ingratitude with which their services to the cause of order were now required.

The National Guards of Paris have in the course of the last three years been reduced from 250,000 to 56,000, even without reckoning the suppression of the entire brigade of artillery: no less than 194,000 soldier-citizens have been disarmed as *suspects*. It is thus that the guardians of public order will soon be reduced to that quiet set of round-shouldered, short-winded *épiciers*, whose uniform the Citizen-King of 1830 delighted to wear.

The dissolution and disarmament of the National Guards of Strasbourg has been accomplished in the "most admirable order." The mayor of the city and two of his adjoints have resigned their office to have no share in the execution of the Government's order. The Republican papers have published a proclamation of Louis Napoleon to the "Alsations," dated October 30, 1836, at the time the young hero threw himself on the enthusiasm of the Strasbourg people and National Guards, offering to lead them to the metropolis, to the utter confusion of all traitors and oppressors. The reproduction of these *fanfaronnades* at the present juncture was not without its effect upon a people so keenly alive to ridicule; but Louis Napoleon, in 1836, had not yet reached the acme of his Eagle sublimity.

Since the utter failure of a fusion of royalist parties, the so-called Legitimists have tendered, it is said, their services to the President, and declared themselves ready to support any proposition that may be made towards a revision of the constitution, with a view to prolong the President's power.

The 18th bureau of parliamentary initiative has taken into consideration some propositions relative to the reimbursement of the 45 centimes-tax levied by the Provisional Government of 1848. That tax produced a sum of about 180 millions; it is now contemplated to indemnify the sufferers by a remission of one-fourth of the direct taxes for four successive years. As this act of justice would occasion a deficit in the treasury, M. Berryer, the chief of the Legitimists, did not scruple to move for an excise duty on the salt; an indirect tax that would be most heavily felt by the poorest classes. A reduction in the price of salt is the first measure resorted to by a popular Government all over the Continent, and it is rather surprising to hear a party, now reduced to the unenviable condition of begging, so far forgetting themselves as to think of a measure that would only rob the poor to give to the rich. The Republicans, represented in this instance by M. Ch. Lagrange, did not fail to take advantage of the blunder by proposing to reclaim the milliard (40 millions sterling) which was voted for the benefit of the emigrant nobles in 1826. The committee has equally rejected all these propositions.

The *Journal des Débats* has been condemned to a fine of 500 francs and costs, for publishing an anonymous letter of a correspondent, although the letter was followed by some remarks that bore the signature of M. Bertin, the responsible agent.

General Magnan, commander in chief of the fourth division, puts forth an order of the day enjoining his soldiers to take good care of their lives, as not belonging to them, but to their country; the suicides now rife amongst those troops being considered as infringements on the rights of the commonwealth.

A procession of young recruits caused some riot at St. Armand, Nièvre. The sub-prefect, with a posse of gendarmerie, has been routed by the rioters; but the prefect, with a large force of regular troops, at last succeeded in reestablishing order.

The singular phases of our Ministerial Crisis have had the most striking effects all over the Continent, especially in Italy; all the Liberal newspapers in that country have mourned over the contingency of losing Lord Palmerston as over a national calamity. It is, certainly, not easy to know where one may fall, when thrown out of the frying-pan; but, whatever may be thought of good intentions, we do not hesitate to assert that the most inveterate Tory could hardly have been more fatal to Italy, as well as to Hungary and Germany, than the headlong and blundering philanthropist at the head of English diplomacy.

The Austrian ass has ventured on a kick to the British lion at Ancona. A British vessel has been forcibly seized by an armed boat of an Austrian man-of-war, claiming damages for some collision of vessels in that port; which, however, the Roman authorities had declared to be merely accidental. Mr. Moore, the English consul, has remonstrated, but in vain, and the English vessel has only been suffered to sail on giving security to answer all demands for the damage.

The Pope has made a formal application to the King of Naples for some detachment of troops, which the King has been obliged to refuse, alleging the treaties between the Catholic powers, which excluded the Neapolitans from the Roman territories. To reassure the Pope under circumstances, however, King Ferdinand has marched a considerable force to the frontier, ready to hasten to the rescue of his holiness on the first alarm.

Street fights between French and Roman soldiers are events of daily occurrence in Rome. In all hand to hand encounters the former are invariably worsted.

New gangs of brigands have shown themselves in the neighbourhood of Rieti and Viterbo. Three companies of French Chasseurs and 150 Roman dragoons, have been marched against them.

All the Bibles and Testaments (Diodati's translation) that were either imported from England, or published in Rome itself under patronage of the Republican Government, are now falling into the hands of the Pope. 3642 copies of those books had been deposited for safe keeping in the house of Mr. Cass, the American consul. As those could not be confiscated or taken by force, the Papal Government offered to buy them up, and they have now been given up for cash.

The President of the Tuscan Council of Ministers, M. Baldasseroni, has suddenly left Florence for Rome: this journey has given rise to the strangest conjectures.

It is not the Grand Duke of Tuscany that is going to Naples, but only his royal Consort. The Grand Duke accompanied her as far as Leghorn, where they were both received with the loudest acclamations. The republican Leghorn is now "won back to her old feelings of loyalty." Pity the Grand Duke did not trust himself to his faithful subjects without reserve, and did not dispense with the strong Austrian garrison which lined all the roads along his triumphal progress! The Duke of Parma is also embarking for Naples, whence, it is said, he intends visiting London for the Great Exhibition. Let us hope the young Prince will have no great thirst for Barclay and Perkins' entire; for, in spite of that utter insignificance which screened him from remark so long as he kept out of the way, enough is known of his petty cruelties, of his free use of the lash and stick, to entitle him to a reception à la Haynau, if he dares to show his face in honest Old England.

The Count of Chambord has left Venice on a visit to his sister, the Duchess of Parma. The count is to be back again to Venice on the 21st.

Letters from Ischia describe the sufferings of the high-minded and gifted patriot Minister, Baron Poevo, now a state prisoner in the castle of that island, as being no less of a revolting than of an afflicting nature. He is allowed no bed, no change of linen, no water, no means of indulging the habits of the commonest cleanliness and decency in his dungeon.

The Lombardo-Venetian Government has put its veto on all experiments on animal magnetism, whether it be applied to medical purposes, for scientific inquiry, or even as a mere pastime.

A Protestant woman, from the Swiss Canton of Aargau, was refused admittance into the common wards of the public hospital at Como, and thrown into a separate apartment, like a leper, on account of her religious heterodoxy.

The people at Genoa have tried their hand at a first experiment of Lynch law. A journal called *La Strega* had published those sinister reports respecting a reactionary plot, at the head of which the Prince of Savoy-Carignano, was supposed to be, of which we gave some account in a previous number. As all those rumours were formally contradicted in Parliament, deputation from Turin waited upon the editor, M. Dagnino, requesting a retraction of the offensive charges. The editor promised to comply with the just demand; but, on the following day, some of his associates published in the same paper a protest that the *Strega* made no recantation; whereupon a mob of sailors and citizens, amongst them a few noblemen, broke into the office of the *Strega*, broke the press, and completely gutted the house, throwing the much damaged property into the streets. Several arrests have been made, chiefly among the sailors and officers of the Royal Navy (the Prince of Savoy-Carignano being the supreme commander of that corps). These, upon a decision of the Council of the Admiralty, have been admitted to bail, for the sum of 10,000 francs. The event has created the greatest sensation throughout the kingdom; and given rise to warm discussions in the Chambers.

The King's birthday was celebrated with heartfelt

enthusiasm at Turin on the 14th. A scheme for embellishing and aggrandizing that cleanest if not most romantic of Milan capitals has been approved by the Chambers, and will be carried into immediate execution.

The Sardinian Government is actively engaged in the discussion of the budget of public instruction; and all the papers are busily propounding interesting questions on the great subject of national education. The Lombardo-Venetian Government has also published new regulations for the improvement of the various branches of instruction.

An Italian refugee has been forcibly expelled from Switzerland. Our readers will remember that MM. Varé and Sterbini joined some French exiles in a protest against the decrees of the Federal Government, for appointing particular districts for the residence of the refugees. The consequence of this protest has been that M. Varé has been arrested, and escorted by gendarmes to the Piedmontese frontier. He had reached Turin, on his way to Genoa, whence he was to be embarked for England or America.

Daylight is making its way into Russia. The Viceroy of Poland has granted permission to Count Henry Brewsky, a celebrated novelist, to start a daily newspaper in Warsaw: its title is *Dziennik Warszawski* (the Warsaw journal).

A large majority in the Swedish Chamber passed a vote of want of confidence in the Ministers. The King is no less determined not to part with his Cabinet, and is said to be confirmed in his resolution by popular opinion.

Motions have been made in the Swedish Parliament for a complete emancipation of the Jews. A strong liberal feeling in favour of this persecuted sect is abroad in the country.

German matters continue in all their charming perplexity. The King of Prussia shows some disposition to disavow Baron Montefußel and his doings at Dresden. He finds his agent should have been less accommodating, and Prince Schwarzenberg should not have had it all his own way. The blundering diplomatist is now in disgrace, and the King listens once more to that warlike Radowitz, and that bold uncompromising party that have so often offered to put him, King Frederick William, at the head of the German nation.

The letter of the King of Wurtemberg has created greater sensation than the King's doubtful sincerity and his previous conduct might have led us to expect. The petty Kings, that shameless Bavarians especially, are once more playing false to Austria, and standing up for a Federal Parliament. A strong party in favour of that national representation exists in Berlin also, and the King is supposed secretly to encourage it.

In short, King Frederic William's conduct reminds us of all the bold aspirations and base misgivings of the unfortunate Charles Albert of Sardinia, in 1848, when the Italians justly nicknamed him King Saw, King Shilly-shally (Il Re Tentenna), hanging in suspense between fear and ambition, between Austria and Italy, between the Jesuit Solare della Margherita and the old Carbonari Gallina and Villa Marina. The identity of measures, persons, and circumstances is complete, though Prussian matters are on a larger scale, and greater destines hang upon them.

*Un roi comme lui compromet tout le monde.* We have no doubt Frederic William is destined to the same final catastrophe. Like Charles Albert, he will shift his policy and temporize, till he has destroyed the very shadow of faith in the heart of his stanch believer, and only make up his mind to a decisive course when his own mismanagement and the inevitable march of events have rendered it desperate.

We do not know how safely we can assert that his time is now come; for he has too often slipped through our fingers: but there is at the present moment temptation enough around him to turn a much stronger head. The four kings, the constitutional party, and not a few of the patriots of more advanced principles are still rallying around him; and France and England, alarmed at last by the towering ambition of Schwarzenberg and the terrible ascendancy of Russia, seem willing to countenance Prussia, and will go just as far in her favour as they did in support of Sardinia in 1848: that is, they will help to confuse and complicate matters till the sword alone can undo the knot; and, when a war is engaged, they will bring about a termination of it by the sacrifice of the weaker party.

A council of Ministers, we are told, has been held at the Elysée to deliberate on these eternal German affairs. The result has been an express to Vienna, conveying instructions to the French Minister there, to renew his remonstrances against the great scheme of incorporation of the Austrian non-German provinces into the German Confederacy, and to throw out some hints of a determination on the part of France to side with Prussia in case of any serious difference of that power with the Austrian Government. M. Mercier is charged with a mission of the same nature to the Courts of Berlin and St. Petersburg. Lord Palmerston's note to the same effect has been presented at the Foreign-office at Vienna as early as the 8th of this month.

With all these warnings and menaces from abroad, however, it seems very clear to us that this scheme of annexation of Polish, Hungarian, Slavonian, and Italian provinces to Germany, is viewed with any thing but dissatisfaction, either by the Princes or even by the people of that country. What is called "annexation" is merely the subjection of all the above-named races to the central nation. The ambition of a people (witness the United States) seems to increase in the same ratio as the liberality of their institutions. Nothing more grasping, more unscrupulous than a Republic. Immense material advantages would certainly accrue to Germany from the realization of Schwarzenberg's magnificent, though iniquitous, project. The Germans may, Heaven be praised, never be able to come to an understanding between them, on other matters; but, on this point, not only do we believe they will be found unanimous, but they will have both the will and the power to overcome all foreign opposition, and already evince sufficient resentment of the slightest hint at remonstrance or interference.

The heartless and scornful manner with which the popular Assembly at Frankfort treated the just representations of the Italian Tyrolese, who thought they had no business in a German Parliament, the claims that Assembly put forward upon Trieste, Venice, and insisted on stretching the confines of Germany to the Adige or Mincio, sufficiently prove what interpretation the Germans incline to give to the word "nationality;" and in so far neighbours have good reason to look upon the endless divisions of the German people, upon the bad faith and jealousy of its rulers, as providential to themselves. The world has had enough to apprehend from the insatiable acquisitiveness of France. Germany, not yet in being, already develops such grasping tendencies as might well disturb the slumbers of the real lovers of the common cause of mankind. If the result of national revolutions is only to strengthen the old maxim, "Homo homini lupus," we shall not be very hearty in our prayers for the speedy success of German nationality.

Prince Schwarzenberg was expected to leave Vienna for Dresden at the end of this week. He has at last sent an answer to the famous letter of the King of Wurtemberg, on the subject of a German National Parliament. The prince in no way objects to the idea expressed by the King, but thinks the time is not yet arrived for such a measure. The Federal Parliament will lose nothing "by keeping." The Ministerial papers at Vienna contradict the report of contemplated aggressions on the part of Austria against either Sardinia, Switzerland, or the French at Rome. They, however, throw out some hints of the possibility of Austria being driven to such steps at some future period, upon continued provocation on the part of her adversaries—probably also upon a more certain consciousness of irresistible means of offence on her own part.

Some decisive settlement has been made with regard to the succession of Hanover. On the King's death the hereditary Prince, who is blind, will succeed, pro forma, only to abdicate in favour of his son, now aged six years. The Hanoverians may well pray for long life to King Ernest, to be saved from the evils of a long regency: theirs is one of those cases in which an indifferent King is better than no King.

#### EPISCOPAL PERPLEXITIES.

An address to the Archbishop of Canterbury was presented by Lord Ashley, accompanied by a deputation of clergy and laity, on Wednesday last. It was signed by 239,860 clerical and lay members of the Church of England, and strongly condemned the papal aggression and "the principles and practices adopted of late years by many of the clergy and laity, usually known by the name of Tractarians." The Archbishop, in reply, expresses "regret and humiliation" that the chief sources of danger are within the Church of England. He cannot deny that "symptoms of approach towards Romish doctrines and Romish usages have appeared of late years within the Church of England." He is also quite aware of the melancholy fact that the Tractarian principles "which have been loudly maintained and zealously propagated, under the equivocal title of church principles, have a tendency to lead those who embrace them to reconciliation with the Church of Rome." But what can be done to prevent all this? He is asked to put down Tractarianism by authority. Can Lord Ashley or any one else tell him where to find authority? He affirms that he and his colleagues have given no "approval of the Tractarian heresy. As for taking any active steps to repress it, he does not see his way."

"Through the uncertainties of rubrics and the intricacies of ecclesiastical law, power has been wanting to prevent or prohibit them." And then he winds up by mildly informing Lord Ashley and his 239,860 clerical and lay friends that the episcopal bench has made up its mind to "discountenance" the Tractarian usages, and repress them as much as it can.

A paragraph has been going the round of the papers intimating that it is the intention of the Archbishop of Canterbury to proceed against all

clergymen in his province who intone the Liturgy. We trust that, whatever may be the intention of his Grace in order to establish uniformity, he may not rashly tamper, at the present critical juncture, with the Rubrics and Canons of the Church, already too much defied by latitudinarianism on the one side, and by infidelity on the other. The result of such a measure could not fail to be most disastrous.—*Morning Post.*

Lord Robert Grosvenor has published a correspondence between himself and the Bishop of London, in which the noble lord asks the right reverend prelate what further steps he has taken to repress the rubrical grievances complained of in other places besides Mr. Bennett's churches at Knightsbridge. The bishop replies, that in some instances his expressed wishes have been complied with; in one a promise of compliance had scarcely been made when it was formally withdrawn; and in another his "earnest and affectionate entreaties" have been met with "unqualified refusal." The bishop, however, is still even now not without hope that the most objectionable of these innovations will be laid aside; but if he is disappointed his lordship will be prepared to do his duty to the Church at such time and in such manner as may appear, "upon the most careful consideration and consultation with those whose opinions I am bound to respect, to be the most advisable."

A subscription is being raised by the churchwardens of St. Paul's and St. Barnabas, Knightsbridge, and a committee is to present, on the 26th instant, a testimonial to the Rev. W. J. E. Bennett. The committee state, that as "Mr. Bennett has sacrificed the whole of his private fortune in support of the various works of charity which he has established in the parish, it has been decided that the testimonial should be presented in money, with a view to a provision for himself and family." The amount subscribed is stated to be between £10,000 and £20,000.

We understand that Mr. Wilberforce, who has lately left the Church of England and joined the Romish Communion, has been actively engaged in spreading in the cottages of the poor copies of his farewell address to his late parishioners, giving his reasons for the change. The latter embraces the usual arguments urged in support of the Papal claims, which are put in a very plausible manner. His attempts to make proselytes are being met with corresponding zeal by the incumbent of St. Matthew's, who has come publicly forward to expose the subtle errors which are being propagated amongst the people of his charge. We earnestly hope that his reply will be widely circulated, and have the effect of arming unstable minds against seducing teachers and false doctrines.—*Rugby Advertiser.*

It is said that "Henry, by Divine permission," of Exeter, has refused to pass the Reverend D. Codnor, on the ground that he holds erroneous views on baptismal regeneration—to wit, similar views to Mr. Gorham. Mr. Codnor was about to officiate as curate for the Reverend J. W. Burrough, the vicar of Totnes.

The Reverend Jarvis Kenrick, the Puseyite clergyman of Chichester, having refused to celebrate the funeral service over the body of a Dissenter, the friends of the latter wrote to the Bishop of Chichester to ask whether Mr. Kenrick had a right to refuse to perform that duty. The bishop replied very courteously that he thought Mr. Kenrick was mistaken in the view he took of his duty. He (the bishop) had, however, written to him, and he trusted that it would make him alter his determination. But Mr. Kenrick was not to be convinced. He still refused, and the burial took place elsewhere. Another letter was then sent to the bishop asking whether Mr. Kenrick could not be legally compelled to celebrate the burial service in such cases, to which the bishop replies that he has "no constraining power over Mr. Kenrick whereby to ensure that he shall not repeat his refusal to use the burial service." The Reverend Mr. Kenrick has since called upon one of the magistrates, a Unitarian, and stated his willingness to purchase an acre of ground, at his own expense, and to give it to the Dissenters as a burying-ground. The offer has not yet been either accepted or refused.

The *Morning Advertiser* states, that a petition is in course of signature (it has already received 5000 names) by the clergy, to be presented to the archbishops and bishops, praying that the burial service may be revised and amended, inasmuch as its indiscriminate use "imposes a heavy burden upon the conscience of the clergy, and is the occasion of a grievous scandal to many Christian people." One of the clergy recommends to his brethren that each of them should, before reading the form over a supposed unworthy character, make a public declaration that he reads it only "because compelled by law to do so."

An attempt was made last week, in the parish of West Derby, near Liverpool, to levy a rate on the residents for the purpose of providing a new parish church and burial-ground. The promoters of the scheme, it was stated, had subscribed among themselves £7000, and as the proposed edifice was estimated to cost £10,000, it was only fair, they

thought, that the deficiency should be supplied by a vote. They accordingly summoned a special vestry at an unusually early hour, hoping, no doubt, that a rate would be obtained with little or no opposition. In this, however, they counted without their host. They were defeated, but not satisfied. They demanded a poll, which was granted, and after two days' struggle they were beaten by a considerable majority.

At a vestry meeting at Middlesborough, on the 17th, a vast majority refused the rate asked; but the chairman declared it carried. A Middlesborough correspondent writes:—"It is full time that church and state were separated, when a poor man's bacon is taken from him by the former, under the sanction of the latter, and offered for sale to buy sacramental wine. On Friday, the 7th instant, 10 st. of flour, 3 lb. of bacon, and other fruits of a church-rate seizure, were exposed to auction in the market; but no man would bid. The goods, however, were not restored to their rightful owner, but locked up in the police-station. The poor man has not saved his bacon—how much longer will the church save hers?"—*Gateshead Observer.*

#### ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

The notion that we are on the eve of a general election still disturbs the constituencies. On all sides we see symptoms of preparation.

**THIRSK.**—The only candidate in the field is Sir William Payne Gallwey, Baronet, son-in-law of the Lady Frankland Russell, of Thirkleby-park, who seeks the suffrages of the electors on Protectionist and Protestant principles.

**CARDIFF.**—It is said that Mr. Nicholl, the present member, will retire. A requisition has been sent to Mr. Walter Coffin, which he has accepted; but Captain Frederick J. Stuart, of the Grenadier Guards, eldest son of Lord J. Stuart, M.P., is also anxious to be returned as the representative of a place with which his family have been so long connected. Both are Liberals.

**EARL CORNWALL.**—In the expectation of a dissolution the Protectionists have already a candidate in the field—Mr. N. Kendall.

**HEREFORDSHIRE.**—Henry Lee Warner, Esq., of Tiverton Court, is mentioned as likely to be the Protectionist candidate at the next general election.

**WEST SOMERSET.**—It is rumoured that Captain Hood, son of the late member, will be brought forward in the Conservative interest, and the Honourable Mr. Portman, son of Lord Portman, on the Liberal.

**ROCHDALE.**—Mr. W. S. Crawford, who has signified his wish to retire from the representation of the borough at the close of the present session, recommends the electors to send a townsmen, but it is said that Mr. Bright, if returned at all to Parliament, must be returned for Manchester. Rumour has mentioned several names as Mr. Crawford's probable successor; among them Mr. Mall, Mr. Vincent, Mr. Roger Fenton, and Mr. Peto, who is connected with Rochdale by marriage, and who is also owner of the township of Middleton.

**STROUD.**—A correspondence has taken place between the Earl Duke and Mr. J. C. Symons in reference to the next election at Stroud. It appears that at the last election Mr. Symons withdrew from the contest in favour of Mr. W. H. Stanton, it being understood that, in the event of a vacancy, Mr. Symons was to have the support of the leaders of the Liberal party, whereas Lord Moreton is now threatened to be pushed forward, and the influence of the noble earl exerted in his behalf.—*Bristol Journal.*

**CAMBRIDGESHIRE.**—It has been resolved to invite Mr. G. F. Young to offer himself as a candidate. A requisition to him has been started; it will soon obtain, we dare say, the signatures of an actual majority of the electors; and, when presented, Mr. Young will comply with it. He will be elected, in conjunction with Lord George Manners and Mr. Yorke, the others of the county of Cambridge all respecting Mr. Townshend as an excellent private gentleman, but they say to him very decidedly, "never more be officer of ours."—*Cambridge Chronicle.*

**COCKERMOUTH.**—It is rumoured that at the next election for Cockermouth, John Steel, Esq., will offer himself in lieu of one of the sitting members who contemplate retirement.—*Carlisle Patriot.*

**LAWES.**—"The deed of severance" which it has been so long known to the borough was in preparation, by the usual parties, is at length completed, and our eloquent representative, Mr. Perrot, as soon as Parliament is dissolved, is to be on a long sabbath. His successor, Henry Brand, Esq., the son of the Honourable General Trevor, of Glynde-place, near the town, has for some time been private secretary to Sir George Grey, the Whig Home Secretary.—*Express.*

#### THE ADVERTISEMENT DUTY.

A deputation, consisting of Mr. Ewart, M.P., Mr. Grange, Mr. Murdo Young, Mr. W. R. Spicer, Mr. D. Pratt, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Thornton Hunt, had an interview with Lord John Russell on Wednesday, at his official residence in Downing-street, on the subject of the repeal of the advertisement tax. Mr. Ewart, in introducing the deputation, said the advertisement duty was one in which a great number of persons, as well as the press, were interested, and a very strong feeling existed throughout the country in favour of a repeal of the duty now enacted. Were it removed the cost would be small, for it did not yield more than £150,000. Under the present system the Government is defrauded to a large extent, for the

tax is evaded in a great variety of ways. He would only refer to the general practice now adopted of inserting advertisements in books and other publications on which no duty at all was levied. These advertisements were clearly within the meaning of the statute, and liable to duty, but it was well known that no duty was paid. The tax was only exacted on those published in the newspapers, reviews, magazines, and periodicals of that kind. The duty was evaded in other ways; he need only refer to the new plan adopted at some of the railway stations of allotting certain space for this purpose professedly to obviate the necessity of putting advertisements in newspapers at all. In no other country, so far as he was aware, was any duty levied on advertisements.

Mr. Grant thought that, viewed as a mere question of humanity, the tax ought to be repealed. There were always many people in want of situations; they were charged by the journals 3s. for each advertisement. Of that sum 1s. 6d. was tax. Now 3s. was a small sum, but really a serious sum to many poor persons, who might be weeks together out of employment.

Mr. Hunt: It is calculated that there are usually 10,000 servants out of place in London.

Mr. Francis also complained of the pressure of the tax on the exertions of literary men, for its direct tendency was to restrict the publication and circulation of books of an educational character.

Mr. Grant had been informed by Mr. Colburn, the publisher, that he considers no work properly advertised under an expenditure of from £70 to £100. If the duty were removed, publishers would be enabled to advertize to a much larger extent.

Lord John Russell thanked the deputation for the information they had afforded, but said they must remember that there were other cases quite as strong as theirs.

#### AN UNHAPPY MARRIAGE.

A domestic assault case, at Southwark Police-office, on Saturday, furnishes a fair specimen of the silly way in which thousands of indissoluble engagements are contracted in England. About two months ago Mary, a young servant girl, had made use of her holiday, Sunday afternoon, in paying a visit to the Crystal Palace. While walking round the building she met a man, named James Spurgin, who accosted her civilly, entered into conversation with her, and very politely explained all about the Exhibition. Talking is dry work, however, and Mary was tired of walking about all the afternoon. They adjourned to a public-house, from which, at his earnest solicitation, Mary allowed James to accompany her home. They met several times after that; he contrived to persuade her that he was "a very kind sort of a man," and she was, no doubt, equally successful in making him believe that she would make an excellent wife. Accordingly they were married at St. John's Church, Horsleydown, about three weeks ago, and immediately the kind husband and the gentle wife began to quarrel. Mary Spurgin, who appeared in court as a domestic victim, said:—

"On the fatal night of their marriage he commenced ill-using her, and actually kicked her out of bed. She put up with his base conduct until the previous night (Friday), when he came home drunk, and as soon as she opened the door he swore at her and knocked her down; when she got up he took up the kitchen poker, and threatened to beat her brains out, which so frightened her that she ran out of the house and called in the police to protect her."

"In answer to the charge the defendant said he was the unhappiest man in the world. His wife was a regular vixen. The very day when they were united she commenced to exhibit her temper by demanding all his money, and stating her determination to 'rule the roost.' He felt very indignant at her conduct, and slightly corrected her. That made her worse, and every day since she had so abused him that he was almost out of his mind. Last evening he went to his club to pay his money, and on his return home she banged the door in his face."

"The wife here called her husband a liar and a brute, and became so violent that the magistrate directed her to be put out of court. Mr. Ingham told the unfortunate husband that he had made a bad bargain, and that he had better allow her a separate maintenance, or murder might be committed. He should order the prisoner to be discharged."

#### A CHLOROFORM ROBBERY.

Doctors differ as to whether chloroform is so very dangerous an agent in the hands of the thieving fraternity as sundry unfortunate victims relate. Ill-natured people insinuate that most of the chloroform stories are mere inventions to account for mysterious nocturnal wanderings. On which side the truth lies we shall not presume to decide. We have merely to report a case which came before Mr. Arnold, at Worship-street Police Court, on Monday, in which Mary Ann Mayne, a woman of the town of masculine appearance, was charged with having administered a quantity of chloroform or other deleterious drug to Mr. John Ewenson, and robbed him of a purse containing £10 9s. 6d. Ewenson, a tall, powerful person, who did not look like one who could be

easily put down, gave the following account of his capture:—

"I reside at Allanmouth, in Northumberland, and am master of a trading vessel between Hull and the Thames. My vessel arrived in the St. Katharine's Docks on Thursday afternoon, and between seven and eight o'clock in the evening I went to a tavern on Tower-hill to meet a friend, who is captain of another ship, upon business, and during the transaction of it we each drank three glasses of ale. That is all I had drunk the whole day. I was as perfectly sober then as I am now, knew thoroughly what I was about, and as a proof of it I may mention that having changed a sovereign to pay for the ale, I placed the change, 1s. 6d., in one end of my purse, and saw that I had £9 10s. in gold in the other. On placing the purse in my pocket my friend and I left the house together, and had only gone a short distance when we were accosted by the prisoner, but we did not notice what she said and went on, and after the close of our conversation we separated, and I returned in the direction of the docks to rejoin my ship. On going back a short way, however, I was again stopped by the prisoner, who pressed me to go home with her, and kept walking at my side, but I refused, and the instant I had done so she gave me a dab on the mouth with something like a handkerchief she had in her hand, and from that moment I had not the slightest recollection of anything that took place until I was woken up about four o'clock on the following morning by a powerful black man, and found myself in a miserable room, lying upon a bed with all my clothes on. The black man peremptorily ordered me out of the house, and I was so confused that I mechanically obeyed him, but after walking down the street in the air a short way I thought of my money, and on thrusting my hand into my pocket I found that the purse and money were both gone. I shortly after met a policeman, whom I told that I had been robbed, and, having described the circumstances and the house I had been turned out of, he at once took me back to it, and on entering the same room we found the woman in bed with the black man. The constable ordered her to sit up, and the instant she did so I recognised her as the same woman who had given me the dab on the mouth, and from beside her the officer picked up my handkerchief. The constable then gave the prisoner over to another officer, and searched the place, though without finding any of my money, but upon examining the privy belonging to the house he fished up my green silk purse from the top of the soil, but all the money was gone."

The constable who took the woman into custody said that Eweson had a confused, stupefied appearance when he met him, which is not surprising, if, as was stated by another witness, he did not go home with the masculine-looking woman till two in the morning. The unfortunate skipper wished the magistrate to decide the case at once, as his vessel was ready to sail, but Mr. Arnold had no power to do that. He must send the prisoner before a jury.

#### TWO FATAL EXPLOSIONS.

Two frightful accidents have occurred during the last few days, both attended with the loss of many lives, and both entailing severe distress upon the surviving relatives who were dependent upon the earnings of those who have been killed.

At the village of Nitshill, a few miles from Paisley, an awful explosion of firedamp took place on Saturday morning. The Victoria Pit, in which the explosion took place, is the deepest in Scotland, being 1050 feet in depth at the downcast shaft, which is situated about the centre of the southern edge of the workings, from whence the inclination of the strata tends upwards to the north, at an angle of about one foot in five, so that at the upcast shaft or pit, which is about a quarter of a mile distant from the working pit, the workings are only 780 feet below the surface.

The plan of the workings represents an oblong square, occupying about fifty acres; the portions of the coal seam worked representing a series of passages of about eighteen feet wide, crossing each other at right angles, and leaving what are called pillars, or rectangular cubes of coal of eighteen yards by eleven. The whole workings thus present the appearance of a tartan check. The air is carried along the face of the workings by means of projecting wooden partitions, which cause the air to take a tortuous course. The pit was in full operation, and turned out two hundred and forty tons of coal per diem. The only mode of accounting for the accident is by assuming that there must have been a sudden sinking or collapse in the roof, by which the ventilating process would be deranged and obstructed; the foul gas would collect in consequence of the obstruction in some spot, which would serve the purpose of a gasometer, and this would explode the moment the lamp was brought in contact with it, overwhelming all who were within the range of its furious sweep.

Saturday being pay day, a larger number of the men employed in the pit had commenced work at an earlier hour than is usual on other days, and at the time the explosion took place sixty-three men and boys had gone down. This was about twenty minutes to five o'clock, at which time a large number of "drivers" and "trappers" were standing on the pit-head, waiting their turn to be taken down. Many of the people threw themselves on their faces, and the débris showered on their bodies, although nothing came up large enough to hurt them. It is estimated

that the explosion continued two minutes, and gave several successive shocks or heaves, the first by far the loudest, until the pent-up vapour had expended itself, and all was still. It was distinctly heard at the distance of a mile and a half. When the explosion was over, the shaft presented a scene of wreck and havoc such as perhaps was never seen on any similar occasion of a coal-pit explosion. The woodwork had been blown from the bottom of the shaft, which is 175 fathoms from the surface, and scattered for 100 yards all around the pit head in a perfect shower. The same appearances were presented around the ventilating pit mouth called the "Free Trader," and situated at the distance of half a mile from the main down-shaft. To give an idea of the force of the explosion, we may state that the mouth of this ventilating pit had been covered over flush with the ground with heavy flooring timbers, and the air and smoke which ascended from it had been led by a tunnel along the surface to the bottom of a tall chimney, which had been erected at a distance of a dozen yards, for the purpose of increasing the draught. The force of the explosion, however, tore away the timbers as if they had been laths, scattering the fragments in all directions, and entirely cutting away the connection between the ventilating pit and the auxiliary chimney. During the whole of Saturday and Sunday there rolled up from this newly-opened mouth smoke and vapour with a smell like that of gas tar.

Every means were taken to endeavour to relieve those in the pit, if any were alive; but the partition which divides the shaft from top to bottom was so injured and displaced as to render the progress of those working in removing the obstructions a tedious operation, especially as only two men could get down at a time. Meantime the crowd of friends and relatives of the miners round the pit continued in a state of intense anxiety. Many of them were at first buoyed up with the hope that some at least might be saved, and that those most dear to them might be amongst the survivors. On Saturday several of the relatives of the sufferers were greatly excited. One man was only prevented by force from jumping down the pit, he having three sons in it. Amongst other cases of distress was that of a woman who had no fewer than four sons as well as her husband in the pit. Of those last the majority were married, and some of them had large families. They have left among them sixty-five children.

A number of able and experienced miners volunteered their services to assist in removing the obstruction which prevented the descent down the shaft. Their progress was slow, but about midnight on Saturday they had advanced so far that voices were heard from below, and through the chinks of the rubbish lights were seen to flicker. This excited hope, and nerved them with fresh energy. Still, notwithstanding the most arduous exertions, comparatively little progress was made. It was not till four o'clock on Sunday afternoon that they reached a point which enabled them to hold any communication with the unhappy beings who were immured far beneath them. A small opening, quite insufficient to admit of their extrication, though large enough to allow correspondence, was then discovered. It was ascertained that two individuals lay at the bottom of the shaft. They cried for food, and some provisions were sent them, of which they acknowledged the receipt. The most vigorous efforts were now put forth to hew away the obstacles which choked up the passage. They consisted principally of one of the cages, and fragments of the midwall. At length, about twelve o'clock, success was attained. Blankets and clothing were provided, and soon after one of the poor men, named John Cochran, was brought to the surface. He was in such a weak state that he could not give any detailed account of the actual occurrence of the calamity further than that two men who were working with him at the time were instantaneously struck down by the fire. During his long imprisonment of nearly 45 hours, he repeatedly groped about for some of his neighbours, and often called on them, but with one exception, no one answered. Cochran and his comrade had been working together in the limestone seam—an elevated portion of the strata—when the explosion took place. They were but slightly injured by it, and had found their way to the foot of the shaft, where they remained till aid was brought them.

The other fatal accident was the explosion of a boiler at Stockport, on Monday evening. It took place at the Park Cotton Mills, on the Cheshire side of the river Mersey. The boiler, which was nearly new, was about forty feet in length, and ten to twelve feet in diameter, and weighed about twelve tons. About half-past five o'clock on Monday evening, whilst the mill-hands were all at work, the boiler was observed suddenly to rise from the immense bed of brick-work in which it had been fixed, and taking a north-westerly direction, it shot with the rapidity of an arrow along the narrow part of the quadrangle, and burst through the wall of the lofty portion of the mill, destroying a large portion of several of the lower floors, and then setting fire to the remainder. A number of the workpeople were buried in the ruins of that portion of the mill which was destroyed, while those in the upper part of the building—about

80 in number—now in flames, were in imminent jeopardy. Some let themselves down from the windows by straps and cords, others escaped by leaping from the windows into the river Mersey. Two men and a boy, who were in the sixth story when the flames were making such rapid progress as apparently to preclude the possibility of their escaping, came to the desperate resolution of attempting to save themselves in the same way. One of the men and the boy happily escaped without injury, but the other man fell on his head, and was killed instantaneously. Nine persons are said to have been killed, and a large number seriously injured. The damage to the property is estimated at from £5000 to £6000.

#### CRUEL TREATMENT OF AN APPRENTICE.

Another case of cruelty to an apprentice was brought to light last week. Thomas Eames, a tailor and draper, carrying on business at Acacia-house, Downham-street, Kingsland, and his wife, a masculine, showily-dressed woman, were brought up at Worship-street Police-office, on Saturday, on a charge of cruelty and illusage to their apprentice. Mr. Aubrey, clerk to the guardians, stated that a boy named Lewis was indentured to Eames, upon the usual terms, in November, 1849, and continued in his service until about a week since, when they were informed that the lad, who had been a remarkably intelligent, willing, and hearty boy while at school, had been so greatly ill-treated as to call for protection. The guardians accordingly removed him, and they now brought their complaint against Eames and his wife for their cruel treatment of the lad.

Robert Lewis the apprentice, a miserable, attenuated-looking lad, whose hands were swollen and ulcerated with chilblains when brought to the court by the parish officers for a warrant against the defendants, and who, though describing himself as sixteen years old, was to appearance much younger, stated that ever since he had been in his master's employment he had been subjected to the most cruel treatment both by him and his mistress, but more particularly the latter, who was in the frequent habit of beating him very violently upon the most trivial occurrences. Throughout the winter he had been compelled by her to wash himself, in the most frosty weather, in cold water, and in consequence of that and other treatment he described his hands became so swollen and frostbitten that he could not, from their soreness, wash his own face; and on the preceding Tuesday, the last of numerous occasions upon which she had similarly beaten him, because he was incapable of doing so, she beat him so severely with her doubled fists upon his head, arms, and chest, that he fell from weakness upon the stairs, and continued ill all day. He had repeatedly complained to his master of the ill-treatment he was so constantly receiving from his mistress, but without the slightest effect, the only answer was that he left those matters to the management of his wife. During the whole time he had been there he had never received enough food at any one meal, was kept for a whole week at a time upon the refuse parts of bullock's heads, which made him very ill, and for breakfast very frequently had only dry bread given him, without anything else to render it palatable. He was made to sleep in an underground kitchen, which was exceedingly damp and unwholesome, and the flock bed he slept upon was both filthy and damp also, from its being made upon the bare floor, he not having had any bedstead for more than the last twelve months, and the only things he had to cover him at night were two bits of rags for sheets, and an old and dirty blanket which had not been washed for sixteen months. Ever since Christmas the fire had only been lit three times, when it was wanted to cook by, and previous to Christmas, when he was seized with the smallpox, it was lit once, on the morning he was taken ill, but discontinued afterwards, and he was left to suffer under the disease in the damp kitchen without one; the consequence of all which was that he was almost constantly ill, and his hands and feet became so sore and inflamed with chilblains that he could scarcely use them.

Both defendants denied all that was alleged against them, but were willing to give up the lad's indentures. Mr. Hammill said it was manifest that the apprentice had been very badly treated and neglected, and, as he considered it a proper case for the decision of a jury, he should send the defendants to meet the charge at the sessions—Eames in his own recognizances in £80, for himself and wife; and in the meantime he should give directions for the indentures to be cancelled.

#### TWO POISON CASES.

Mrs. Dearlove, the wife of a wealthy farmer residing at Gorefield, near Wisbeach, sat down to dinner alone on Thursday week. Her husband had not returned from Wisbeach cattle market, and her daughter was from home on a visit. No sooner had she taken a mouthful of pudding than she complained of the taste, and after eating only a small quantity she became very ill, and alarming vomiting ensued. In half-an-hour's time Mr. Dearlove returned. He had taken shelter during a thunder storm, which had delayed him, but saved his life. When he reached home his wife was speechless and insensible, and died in two hours after dinner time, in dreadful agonies. It is suspected that death was caused by arsenic. Mr. Dearlove, who used it for preparing his seed wheat, kept a quantity in an iron pot, slung up by ropes to the roof of the barn. A few days before the death of his wife he found it on the barn floor, but did not suspect that any part had been taken away for a criminal purpose. As to the motive, it is feared that a feeling of revenge was the cause. Mrs. Dearlove

had a few mornings before thrown a quantity of cold water over the girl in bed to wake her up; and she had been heard to say she would be revenged. On the morning of the fatal day she had also gone up stairs and thrown the best clothes off the girl. The adjourned inquest was held on Wednesday on the body of Mrs. John Dearlove. No evidence was offered to fix the charge upon the girl who is suspected, and the jury have returned a verdict of "Wilful murder against some person or persons unknown."

The cook of the Isabella, a Jersey vessel, which arrived from Lisbon last week, has been arrested on suspicion of having attempted to poison the whole of the crew. When the Isabella was about fifty miles from the Channel Islands, the captain and crew dined off pea soup, and all were immediately seized with violent pain in the bowels and vomiting; none died, however, but the captain.

#### STARVING A CHILD TO DEATH.

A shocking case of death from starvation, causing nearly as much excitement and indignation as that of Jane Wilbord, has occurred in Dublin. The unhappy child, aged five and a half years, was named Fanny Powell, and was the illegitimate daughter of a man named Powell, an engineer on the Dublin and Drogheda railroad. Mrs. Powell, the mother-in-law of Powell, who had the entire care of the girl, said she fed it well with breakfast, dinner, and supper; but it was proved that she, as well as Powell and his wife, were in the constant habit of cruelly beating the child, whose screams for mercy were heard by the neighbours, and the poor thing calling out for her own mother. It was proved too, in contradiction to Mrs. Pearson's assertion that she fed the child, that the poor infant, whenever she got out, used to go to the neighbouring shops and beg a bit of bread, which she ate most ravenously, saying that she got nothing to eat at home, but sometimes a dry crust. The medical witnesses, who made a *post mortem* examination of the body, said, that the child died of starvation. The immediate cause was effusion on the brain, but that arose from want of nutrition, the child having no disease whatever. The stomach, intestines, and all the organic parts were perfectly healthy, but there was not a particle of food of any sort, or the remains of any to be found. Indeed, so completely empty were all those parts, that the sides of the canals of nutrition closed upon each other, there was not even air in them. After a long and painful investigation, the jury returned the following verdict:—

"We are unanimously of opinion that the child Fanny Powell came by her death in consequence of want of sufficient food and due care on the part of Mrs. Mary Pearson, who, it appears, had the entire care of the child. This want of care and food producing effusion of the brain, which appears, by the medical testimony, to have been the immediate cause of death."

Mrs. Pearson was then committed to prison on the coroner's warrant.

#### WHOLESALE MURDERS.

The French papers contain a shocking murder story. A farmer named Rouchoux, living with his family in an isolated house at St. Etienne-Vallée-Française (Lozère), recently agreed to purchase some land for 3000F. Having procured that sum a few days beforehand, he kept it in his house until the legal formalities should be accomplished. A few days ago his children, contrary to their constant custom, did not go to school, and the schoolmaster sent to inquire respecting them. The messenger found the house fastened up, and no reply was given to his knocking at the door. He accordingly, with the assistance of some neighbours, broke open the door. A horrible spectacle presented itself. Rouchoux, his wife, and two sons, were lying in a pool of blood, quite dead, whilst another son, a boy, aged only seven, was severely cut about the head and face. The murders had been perpetrated with an axe. Upstairs the mother of Rouchoux, a very old woman, was also found murdered—her skull had been beaten in with a stone. The drawer in which the money had been placed was broken open, and the 3000F., with the exception of one piece of 5F., had been taken away. Suspicion fell on Baptiste, the brother-in-law of Rouchoux, and a wooden shoe stained with blood was found in his house. His replies to questions put to him were so contradictory that he was arrested. It is hoped that the life of the little boy will be saved.

#### A FRENCH ROMANCE.

A few days since a medical man, named Philippe, died in a village near Paris, where he had resided many years, and had acquired a great reputation for skill and probity. He never demanded any remuneration, except from those who were in circumstances to be able to pay him; and during the last visit of the cholera he was indefatigable in his attention to the suffering poor. Last year an Englishman, travelling in that part of the country, was taken so suddenly ill that he was obliged to stop at an inn in the commune, and Dr. Philippe was sent for. Scarcely, however, had he arrived at the bedside of the patient, when the latter became violently agitated, and his countenance changed exceedingly. The doctor appeared also to be agitated, and at once ordered everyone out of the room. When that was done, the door was locked on the inside. The landlady, being curious to know what was going on, listened at the door, but the conversation was carried on in a language which she did not understand; she, however, heard the patient exclaim in French, "Assassin! assassin!" after which a violent alteration ensued. The Englishman appeared to threaten, and the doctor to supplicate him; the latter afterwards left the room, and went into the kitchen, where he prepared some medicine which he ordered to be given to the patient several times during the night. On the following day the stranger was much worse, and feeling his end approaching, he made a sign for pen, ink, and paper, and wrote a few words in English, which the landlady gave to the mayor of the commune, who, not understanding the language, threw it aside into a drawer, where it was forgotten.

The stranger died the same evening. A few days since the mayor, when called on to register the death of the doctor, who in his turn had paid the debt of humanity, thought of this paper, and on his showing it to his nephew, who understood the language, it was found that Dr. Philippe was no other than the famous Paterson, a noted robber of the United States, all trace of whom had been long lost. The Englishman had recognized him as a man who had, twenty years before, attempted to murder him while travelling in the State of Vermont, in America. The mayor immediately proceeded to the house of Dr. Philippe to institute an inquiry. He found that he had during his illness refused to be undressed, and had made the persons who attended him promise that he should be buried in the clothes which he then wore. The mayor, however, ordered the body to be undressed, when it was found that the doctor was in reality a very spare man, although he always appeared stout, the bulk being caused by his wearing clothes wadded most thickly. His legs were also bandaged up, and one of his feet was found to be a very skilfully made artificial one. The body was covered with marks of wounds. In a dark closet there were found several chests fastened with triple locks, and on these being forced open they were found to contain arms of various kinds, watches, gold coins of all nations, and diamonds and jewels to a considerable value. Particulars of this discovery have been transmitted to the government, and a copy sent to the authorities of the State of Vermont.—*Galignani*.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Queen is expected to return from Osborne on Tuesday next, as a drawing room is held at St. James's on Wednesday.

The Duchess of Kent arrived at her residence, Frogmore, near Windsor, on Wednesday afternoon, from Osborne, attended by Lady Fanny Howard and Colonel Sir George Couper.

Lord and Lady John Russell had a dinner party on Wednesday evening in Chesham-place. Her ladyship, later in the evening, received a distinguished circle. Her ladyship shortly purposed to give a series of brilliant parties at the official residence in Downing-street.

Sir John Romilly will, it is said, shortly be appointed Master of the Rolls; when Sir A. Cockburn will become Attorney-General; and, it is believed, Mr. Page Wood Solicitor-General.

Sir Charles Napier arrived in London on Wednesday morning, at a quarter past one o'clock, on his return from India, having travelled from Dover by the South-Eastern Railway. On arriving at the London-bridge Terminus, he was received with three hearty cheers by the railway officials, who were drawn up to receive him.

In the list of passengers from Alexandria, per Ripon, to Malta, is the name of Rajah Sir James Brooke, who will land at that island to recruit his health before returning to England via the Continent.

The Earl of Albemarle died on Saturday last, in his fifty-sixth year. He is succeeded in his title by his brother, the Honourable Colonel George Thomas Keppel, who has been a groom in waiting to her Majesty, and who, on Lord John Russell's first appointment to office as First Lord of the Treasury, officiated as private secretary to his lordship.

While the newspapers are generally at sea as to the exact whereabouts of the Reverend Mr. Bennett, late of St. Barnabas', Pimlico, it may not be uninteresting to know that he has quietly retreated to the Island of Cumbrae, where, last Sabbath, he preached an eloquent discourse in the Episcopal Church there.—*Greenock Advertiser*.

A licence was granted to M. Soyer, on Wednesday, authorizing the great *chef de cuisine* to sell wines and spirits, &c., at Gore-house.

Mr. Linton, well known as "The Bishop of Gretna," died at his residence, Gretna-hall, after a few days' illness.

The President of the Republic attended, on Monday, a funeral service in the Church of Rueil, for the repose of the soul of his grandmother. A good many persons, old friends of the mother of Queen Hortense, also attended the ceremony, which was celebrated at eleven o'clock.

As a matrimonial symbol of "fusion" an alliance is talked of between the families of Count Molé and the Duc de Noailles, by the marriage of the latter's son with Mile. de Champlatreux.

Lamartine has presented to the French Assembly a petition from the admirers of Washington, requesting that a block of stone lying in the harbour of Cherbourg be given for a statue to the hero of American Independence.

Samuel G. Goodrich, the well-known author of *Peter Parley's Histories*, has been nominated Consul at Paris in the place of Robert Walsh, who resigned.

Mr. de Nieuwerkerke is at present executing the model of the statue of Napoleon, destined for the city of Lyons. It represents the Emperor with his hand on his heart, pronouncing the phrase, since become historical, of "Lyonnes, I love you!" In 1814, on arriving at Lyons from Grenoble, the Emperor was surrounded by such a compact and enthusiastic crowd that he delivered no speech, and could only utter the celebrated exclamation mentioned above.

Letters from Venice state that the Count of Chambord had quitted that city on a visit to his brother-in-law, the Duke of Modena. After passing a few days there, he proceeded to Parma, to pass a few days with the Duchess, his sister. He returns to Venice on the 21st instant.

Jenny Lind has completely won the affections of the people of New York. When she heard the news of the Atlantic's safety, she wept and sung for joy. It will be remembered that Jenny came to this country in the Atlantic.—*New York Sun*.

While Parodi was singing in *Romeo and Juliet*, at

Boston, says a New York paper, she fell into a fainting fit, and had to be carried from the stage. The performances were immediately suspended for the night.

A short time ago the Archbishop of Paris disapproving of the militant conduct of some of the metropolitan clergy, and more especially of their acting as newspaper editors, published a Pastoral letter, in which he invited the priests of his diocese to renounce political discussion, on account of its involving the clergy in worldly disputes, highly prejudicial to the sacerdotal character. The Bishop of Chartres, in answer to the recommendations of the Archbishop, has issued a circular to his clergy, in which he maintains that when pernicious doctrines are disseminated, it is the bounden duty of so influential a body as the clergy, not to stand aloof, but to enter the lists boldly, and counteract the effects of the mental poison so instilled. He thinks that "the spirit of falsehood has, by a fatal surprise, mingled with the truths announced by the Archbishop of Paris, errors which are full of frightful danger." The archbishop does not condescend to make any direct reply to the rebellious bishop, but publishes an ordonnance in the *Univers* of Wednesday, which defers the matter to the Provincial Council. The *Débat*, the *Presse*, and the *Ordre*, all condemn the Bishop of Chartres.

The reception at the Elysée on Monday evening was unusually brilliant, and the number of ladies present was greater than usual. In addition to the Ministers and the Corps Diplomatique, a great majority of the notabilities of the capital were amongst the visitors.

Influenza has been very violent in Paris lately. The *Union Medicale* says that at least 300,000 persons in Paris have been affected by it. It has been for some days beginning to decline.

A man named Coquet has just been arrested at Liverpool on the charge of having fired the shot which caused the death of the Archbishop of Paris at the barricade of the Faubourg St. Antoine, in the insurrection of June, 1848. He has been lodged in the gaol of Toul.

The *Mouvement du Soir* states that the complaints made by the Government at the limitation of space allotted to French productions intended for the Great Exhibition in Hyde Park have been satisfactorily removed by the royal committee. This fact is mentioned as a proof of the good feeling which subsists between England and France.

A shoemaker, who has frequently been in the House of Correction, at Mayence, entered the church, on Monday week, went up to the altar where Dr. Nickel, governor of the episcopal seminary, was performing mass, and attempted to murder him in face of the whole congregation with a long dagger, which, however, merely wounded the reverend priest in the hand and thigh, without producing any dangerous effect.

The roads in Germany are at present encumbered by the quantity of snow which has lately fallen. A letter from Leipzig states, that for several days last week all the railway-trains and mails were detained, except that on the Saxon-Bavarian line. On the Leipzig and Dresden line, two trains were buried in the snow at Osschatz, as was also a Berlin train between Berlin and Cöthen. On the Leipzig and Magdeburg line, eight trains were obliged to stop near Halle. The mails from Berlin and the North have for some days been constantly twenty-four hours behind time.—*Frankfort Journal*.

The Overland Mail brings intelligence of the unconditional surrender of the fort Dharoor, in the Nizam's dominions, on the 4th of February; a portion of the prince's territory has been made over to the Government of the East India Company, as an equivalent for the debt of £60,000 due to it. In the Punjab, 450 miles of canals are under construction. Lord Dalhousie is occupied with education in the Punjab, in which he is earnestly seconded by the inhabitants. The sum of £10,000 sterling has been stolen from the Oriental Bank at Calcutta. The Chinese papers add to these items the confirmation of Commissioner Lin's death.

The *North China Herald* announces the discovery of an interesting race of Jews in the interior of the country, 350 miles from Pekin, by some missionaries of the London society.

Considerable dissatisfaction prevails in the United States among iron manufacturers and other trades, at Congress having adjourned without passing an increased tariff bill.

A sharp debate took place in Congress between Messrs. Allen and Ashmun, of the Massachusetts delegation, in regard to an alleged donation of 50,000 dollars from certain merchants and banks in New York and Boston, to the Secretary of State, Mr. Webster. The explanation of the affair, as given by some of the papers, does not raise our notions of Mr. Webster's independence, or high principle. "Plain living and high thinking" is evidently not his motto.

The American papers contain a long list of calamities, some of them attended with large loss of life. The boiler of a ferry-boat had exploded at St. Louis, killing thirty passengers, and severely scalding twenty. By the collision between the steamers Autocrat and Magnolia, near New Orleans, twenty lives were lost. At Fayetteville, Tennessee, forty houses were blown down by a tornado, and about fifteen persons killed. St. Thomas's Episcopal Church in Broadway, New York, has been destroyed by fire—loss, 30,000 dollars.

A notorious character, named one-eyed Thompson, an alleged counterfeiter and burglar, and strangely mixed up with prominent trials now before the New York Courts, committed suicide by taking morphine, in the city prison on Monday, leaving his written reason for so doing, and an affecting farewell to his family and the world.

Two Poles of the Polish-Hungarian Legion who, following the advice given them, went to America, were driven by misery and despair (caused by the difficulty of obtaining employment) to commit suicide; the one, Klimasserski, by throwing himself under the wheels of

a railroad engine, the other, Niedzielski, by blowing out his brains.

The subject of free schools is attracting considerable attention in Canada, and the effort to render them so, it is predicted, will soon be successful. The application for separate schools, made by some of the leading Catholics in Toronto has been refused by the board of trustees, the case carried to the Queen's Bench, and the action of the trustees sanctioned.

The *New Brunswick* announces that the bill to incorporate the European and North American Railway has passed the House. The bill provides that the province shall take stock in the proposed undertaking to the amount of £250,000, and issue debentures to that amount, the balance to be paid by private subscription. The bill provides that for every pound subscribed and paid up, one acre of Government land will be allowed. There can be no doubt that the sum necessary to construct the railway through this province will be readily subscribed, and the mechanics of St. John's, New Brunswick, have made an offer to the Legislature to take stock in the railway to the amount of £100,000, provided they are employed upon the work.

A proposition has been made in the Mexican Chamber of Deputies to prevent the erection of convents, and to pass a law forbidding any woman under twenty-five years of age taking the veil, but it is not stated with what prospect of success.

Mexico seems determined to keep pace with the rest of the civilized world in the transmission of intelligence. The posts for the telegraphic wires between the capital and Vera Cruz have all been erected, and the communication will soon be opened.

Two gangs of brigands, said to be Americans, under the leadership of men named Leman and White, were reported as ravaging the state of Chihuahua, in Mexico. They had a strong force, thirty in one party, and two pieces of artillery, and they had women and children among their prisoners.

Public meetings have been held during the week at Chelsea, Pimlico, and other districts in the metropolis to petition Parliament in favour of an effectual measure to suppress the use of territorial titles, and the exercise of territorial jurisdiction under delegation from a foreign power; and also to prevent syndical action on the part of the Romish clergy under colour of any authority from the Bishop of Rome.

A deputation of noblemen and gentlemen had an interview with Sir George Grey at the Home-office on Thursday, to present an address to her Majesty against the aggression of the Pope of Rome, and the truculent innovations lately introduced into the service of the Church of England. Lord Ashley, in presenting the address, mentioned to Sir George Grey that it had been signed by 63 peers, 108 members of the House of Commons, and by 321,240 other lay members of the Church of England, all of whom had signed their own names, with their residences affixed.

A meeting of Irish representatives and others was held on Tuesday, at the King's Arms Hotel, Pall-mall, Westminster, to consider the best means of pressing on the Chancellor of the Exchequer the expediency of abolishing the excise duty on paper. The meeting, after having been addressed by Mr. Torrens McCullagh, Mr. Fagan, Captain Greene, and Sir Timothy O'Brien, resolved, "That the excise duty on paper impedes the progress and extension of the manufacture, and by paralyzing enterprise operates most injuriously on the interests of trade and the employment of the people." A deputation was afterwards appointed to wait upon Sir Charles Wood and Lord John Russell.

The nomination of a successor to Mr. Sheil in the representation of Dungarvan took place on Wednesday. Sir John Power, of Kilfane, proposed the Honourable Charles Ponsonby, eldest son of Lord de Mauley, the candidate who represents the Whig interest, and enjoys the support of the Duke of Devonshire. Mr. Thomas J. Fitzgerald seconded the nomination of Mr. Ponsonby; and Mr. John Francis Maguire, proprietor and editor of the *Cork Examiner*, the tenant league candidate, was then put in nomination, his mover and seconder being Mr. Mahony, a local merchant, and Mr. Boland, a shopkeeper. Mr. Edward Lucas, of the *Tablet*, was also nominated, for the purpose of giving him an opportunity to address the meeting.

Mr. Hume having been in Norfolk, last week, on business with the magistrates, was invited to address a meeting of reformers in St. Andrew's-hall, which he did on Friday evening. Though only a short notice was given, two thousand persons were present, and received him with great enthusiasm.

Captain Warburton has been instructed by her Majesty's Privy Council to visit Blackburn, and report upon the expediency or otherwise of granting the inhabitants of that town a charter of incorporation. The charter up to the present time has been unopposed.

One of the curiosities among the American contributions is a packet, landed on Monday from the St. Lawrence, which consisted of an air-exhausted metal coffin, in which a human body could be preserved for ages without undergoing the slightest change towards decomposition. It contained a bouquet of flowers, which is as fresh as when it was first placed there. The variety in the American contributions is very great. Amongst the packets are specimens of all kinds of inventions in machinery, such as lathes, and planing and weighing machines, mills, &c.; in agricultural implements, such as ploughs, winnowing machines; life boats and buoys, anchors; carriages, harness, musical instruments, perfume, wigs and other head dresses of hair; fancy soaps, cabinet works, india-rubber goods, fire arms, stained glass, chemical instruments, pegs for the bottoms of boots and shoes, patent and fireproof paint.

There is a large quantity of glass from Massachusetts; also specimens of Australian wheat in the straw, of tobacco, cotton, seeds, cod-liver oil, blacking, patent iron

safes, catawba, wine, stationery, books, bookbinding, oak tables, spring chairs, picture frames, looking-glasses, pilot bread, wafer and soda crackers, soap stones, specimens of flour and preserved meats, and of a self-acting safety valve.

The American frigate St. Lawrence is to call at one of the French ports, after discharging her cargo for the Exhibition, and take up the body of the famous Paul Jones—the first United States Commodore—now reposing in Paris.

Poor as the Polish exiles in France and England are, they have nevertheless subscribed, up to this moment, £60 towards the relief of the Poles and Hungarians, who have lately arrived in Liverpool from Turkey.

The Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer Singapore left Southampton on Monday, with detachments of the Seventy-third, Sixth, and Ninetieth Regiments for the Cape of Good Hope. She also took ship letters boxes and bags, and £50,000 in gold from the Treasury for the Cape.

The thieves' kitchen in Gray's-inn-lane, which has long boasted a high reputation as a normal school of thieving, and a dépôt for the reception of stolen property, is broken up. By the vigilance of two or three of the detective police, the greater number of the thief-trainers have been convicted and transported.

In the county of Pembroke, within eight miles of Pembroke, are three sisters, all widow ladies, whose united ages amount to 254 years, the eldest being eighty-seven, the second eighty-five, and the youngest eighty-three; they are in the most complete possession of all their faculties, hearing and seeing well, and so active that either of them is able to walk a couple of miles without inconvenience.

A fire broke out in the mansion of the Earl of Ripon, at Putney-heath, on Friday week. The fire was first observed in his bedroom. The hose of the Putney engine was conveyed to the roof of the mansion, and the water was poured down the chimney communicating with Lord Ripon's bedroom and an adjoining apartment where the fire had originated. Before the fire could be extinguished it was found necessary to pull down the wall in front of the fireplace in the earl's bedroom, and it was then found that some timber between the flues had been smouldering for some hours before it burst into flame. The fire was ultimately extinguished by cutting away the timber; but not until damage to the amount of £150 had been done to the building.

A coroner's jury at Bristol have found the following verdict over the body of a young lady who died suddenly, and on whom a surgeon held a post mortem examination: "Idiopathic asphyxia, hastened by tight lacing."

At the Devon Assizes on Wednesday, the Birds, whose case has been so frequently before the public, were sentenced to sixteen months' hard labour.

The body of a female, whose name is not known, was found floating in the Regent's Canal, near the York and Albany Tavern, last week. The body seemed to be that of a destitute person, and had, apparently, been a fortnight in the water. At an inquest held on the body, on Saturday, the following verdict was returned:—"That the body was found drowned in the waters of the Regent's Canal, with certain marks of violence upon it, but how it came there, or how they were caused, there was not sufficient evidence to prove."

It is said that Drury had promised the unfortunate Janet Denny £10 for declaring that he was not the cause of her "trouble"; but that he never paid her the money. The trial of the murderer has renewed the interest manifested at the time of viewing the scene of the dreadful catastrophe; and a tree growing near the spot has been stripped of its bark by curiosity hunters in the "horrible" lime. An application has been made to the High Sheriff by Mr. Donovan, the phrenologist, for permission to take the heads of Drury and Mrs. Chesham after their execution.

Henry Winteringham, an undergraduate of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, was brought before the magistrates on Saturday on the charge of having committed an assault with criminal intent on Elizabeth Mary Parr, a girl between fifteen and sixteen, the daughter of a respectable tradesman. The magistrates decided upon committing the prisoner to take his trial at the assizes, but he was admitted to bail, himself, in £200, and two sureties of £100 each.

The farmers in Ireland are eagerly availing themselves of the favourable spring weather to plant potatoes, which are likely to be grown to a far greater extent than in any year since the disastrous blight in 1846. With the exception of Kerry, Clare, and one or two other counties, the crop of last year turned out productive and sound, and potatoes have maintained a very remunerative price—indeed an extremely high rate, in proportion to wheat and other grain. Although emigration continues on so formidable a scale, there can be little doubt, judging from numerous accounts now before us of the progress already made, that the breadth of potatoes planted this year will fall little short of the average quantity grown before the appearance of the mysterious blight which has produced so extraordinary a social revolution in Ireland.

The grand jury of the south riding of Tipperary have signed petitions to Parliament, stating that the immense import of foreign flour has totally ruined the great trade which once existed in Ireland in the manufacture of flour. That the extensive mills in that country, as large as the English cotton mills, are comparatively idle and the hands turned off. The flour being imported at the same duty as wheat, gives the Frenchman a bonus over the British mill-owners of 1s. 7d. a sack, and to the Odessa merchant 1s. Id., and they pray for a protecting duty to place them on a level, at least, with the foreigner.

A fire occurred at Newry, on Thursday week, which entirely destroyed the extensive flour and corn mills belonging to Mr. Brown, on the Merchants' quay, and the loss is estimated at £10,000.

## TO READERS AND CORRESPONDENTS.

It is impossible to acknowledge the mass of letters we receive. Their insertion is often delayed, owing to a press of matter; and when omitted it is frequently from reasons quite independent of the merits of the communication.

Communications should always be legibly written, and on one side of the paper only. If long, it increases the difficulty of finding space for them.

All letters for the Editor to be addressed 9, Crane-court, Fleet-street, London.

## POSTSCRIPT.

SATURDAY, March 22.

The first business in the House of Commons, last evening, related to the disorderly proceedings of Thursday. Mr. MOORE thought the House ought to take steps "to prevent the repetition of those obscenities of prurient sensibility, and to repel those dastardly insinuations."—The SPEAKER: The honourable member must retract the word *dastardly*.—Mr. MOORE: Those unmanly insinuations against English ladies.—Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL put the following question to the Speaker:

"An honourable member of this House, the member for Surrey, having spoken in terms of levity and insult of certain practices connected with the religion of other members, which, although not enjoined upon them as of faith are, and have long been, sanctioned by competent authority and recommended for devout observance; and the same honourable member having proceeded to speak in similar terms on subjects usually held in reverence by Christians of all denominations—involving an allusion, the terms of which it is impossible for a Christian to repeat, to the mother of our common Redeemer—is it to be understood that such conduct, tending as it does to outrage not only right feeling and charity, but Christianity itself, was in order; and that a repetition of it will, therefore, be permitted in the British House of Commons?"

If it should go forth to the world that in the House of Commons, a Christian assembly, such expressions, touching matters which are held sacred by all Christians, were allowed to pass, he for one could not hope that order would be preserved, for it would be impossible to sit patiently and listen to them. (*Hear, hear.*) Sir ROBERT INGLIS thought the subject might be allowed to drop, after the apology which Mr. DRUMMOND had made; he having expressed his regret at having given any offence. A rather angry discussion followed relating to Miss Talbot, in which several gentlemen gave each other the lie, in the Pickwickian sense.

Another episode, also flowing out of the wearisome discussion on the Papal Aggression Bill, was introduced by Mr. MILNER GIBSON, who called the attention of Ministers to the fact that seven weeks of the session have past, and that only two nights have been devoted to business. He was quite aware that the Papal aggression was the principal cause of this. Many people, no doubt, were anxious to have that question settled, but there were others equally anxious to get on with business. The coffee trade was in a state of suspense, the timber trade and, indeed, the manufacturing and trading interests generally were in a state of suspense. They complained of the unfair appropriation of public time. No one knew when the debate would end. It was rumoured also that Ministers would find it necessary to withdraw the bill, in consequence of the first clause containing those very provisions which they were anxious to avoid. Under these circumstances, he thought the best thing they could do would be to lay the question aside for the present, and get on with the more urgent business. Lord JOHN RUSSELL would have been very glad if the debate had been brought to a close on Monday, but it lay with the House rather than with Ministers to say when it should close. As regards the business of the session,

"As soon as the House has decided upon the second reading of the present bill, we shall proceed, on the first order night, to the Army estimates. We shall endeavour to take the votes of the men for the Army immediately, and the notice will be given on the next order of what shape the Budget shall appear in. On the next, order day we shall take the votes on the income tax, and I hope that this will be perfectly satisfactory. (*Hear, hear.*)"

The formal debate was then begun by Mr. BERNAL O'BORNE, who asked why the Isle should be fought from its propriety because a harmless act had been done in an arrogant and bombastic manner. He commended Lord John for omitting the two clauses of the bill, recommending him to omit the preamble also; and then addressed himself to the arguments urged in support of the bill, which he said, with one or two exceptions, abounded with vituperation of the Roman Catholic religion. The no-Papery cry out of doors, and the vituperative speeches on the platform and in the pulpit, as well as in that House, reminded him of the Popish Plot in 1678. While he deprecated legislation against Romish bishops, he admitted there was a grave question touched upon in Lord John Russell's letter—namely, the state of the Church of England, and how far the Universities conduced to the purity of that Church, and he recommended that, instead of

looking to the Vatican, we should reform Oxford. Mr. COCHRANE and Mr. CHILD supported the bill, Mr. FORTESCUE and Mr. GOULD opposed it. Mr. W. J. FOX did not deny that there had been an extensive movement in the public mind on the subject of Papal aggression; but he thought it had been considerably exaggerated, and it was not a movement in favour of this bill; what the people wanted was to stop the progress of Popery. How far that could be done by act of Parliament he should not inquire; but this bill would not have the remotest effect in that direction. If the real wishes of the people were to be gratified, it must be by making the Church of England more Protestant, instead of imitating the worst features of Romanism. The bill had already produced disastrous effects,—a great party shattered, public business obstructed, the tone of deliberation in that House lowered; and all for what? To placate the wounded pride of a few titled ecclesiastics. Mr. WALPOLE supported the bill in a declamatory harangue, and Mr. ROEBUCK followed on the other side. After asking what the Queen of a nation like this could fear from a poor, old wandering priest, who, if he came here at all, came clothed only with moral attributes, he said the act of Cardinal Wiseman had been a blunder, for had the Catholics waited a few years, the popular mind would have been in that state that would have allowed them to do as they pleased. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL, whose speech closed the debate for last evening, endeavoured to sow dissension between the Irish and English Roman Catholics. "He was by no means clear that the Papal act was not a first step towards giving the Catholic Church of England a mischievous superiority over the Catholic Church of Ireland." Mr. FAGAN having moved the adjournment of the debate till Monday, Lord JOHN said he would not oppose the adjournment, but hoped that on Monday a division would take place.

The *Times*, which has lately taken up the suffrage question much more earnestly than any other daily newspaper, in an article this morning on the desperate condition of the Government, warns Lord John that he must lose no time:

"Unless Lord John wishes to sell his party altogether, and go down to posterity as the last and least of the Whigs, he must bring in the bill for the further reform of the British electoral system which he has had in hand for some time. That, however, cannot be expected to pass without a great deal of debate, extending, perhaps, into two sessions. In his own mind, and on a very rational estimate of the labour and difficulties involved in the task, his lordship had reserved the bill to the less occupied session of 1852; but the events of the last seven weeks abundantly prove that it is unsafe to postpone a measure of such absolute necessity a day longer than need be; for every day brings us nearer to the crisis when we may require the assistance of a new Parliamentary Reform Act to save the country from the most serious of perils—viz., the temporary ascendancy of a party at utter discord with the public opinion and interests of the empire."

The election of a representative for Thirsk, in the room of the late member, Mr. John Bell, took place yesterday. The only candidate was Sir W. Payne Gallwey, Bart., who, backed by the influence of the Frankland Russell family of Thirskley, asked for the suffrages of the electors upon Protectionist and Protestant principles, and was returned without opposition.

The case of Miss Talbot, a ward in Chancery, whose fortune of £80,000 is likely to go to "pious uses," has been fixed for hearing this morning.

The Earl of Eglinton was installed as Lord Rector of the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen on Tuesday.

A large and influential meeting of the inhabitants of Glasgow was held in the City-hall, on Wednesday, to petition Parliament to take efficient measures to repel the Papal aggression, and to withdraw all endowments, and every species of state encouragement from Popery. The meeting was addressed by the leading Established and Dissenting clergymen of the city. The speakers condemned the vacillating conduct of Ministers in very strong terms, and called for strong measures. They called upon Parliament—

"To withdraw from the Church of Rome that national encouragement and support which it now receives from the public funds and otherwise; to place all convents and numeraries, and other similar establishments of the Roman Catholic Church, under regular public inspection; to amend the laws of mortmain, and generally to resist the aggressive spirit of Popery." One of the resolutions was of a decidedly business character. It declared—

"That, looking to the unsound views on the Polish question recently expressed by statesmen of all parties, and having respect to the not distant dissolution of Parliament, this meeting resolves to establish an association in Glasgow, either independently of, or in connection with the Scottish Reformation Society, recently instituted in Edinburgh, for the purpose of procuring and circulating information regarding Papal movements, and of keeping the attention of the country, and especially of the Parliamentary constituencies, alive to the true character and designs of Popery, and to the necessity of taking effectual measures to secure that effect shall be given to the mind of the parties on this subject, both by the Government and the Parliament of this kingdom; and that a number of gentlemen be appointed a committee for forming such an association, with power to add to their number."

At Nottingham a public meeting of a similar character was held in the Corn Exchange, on Thursday. All sects and parties are said to have joined in the demonstration against Papal aggression.

The steam-ship Cambria arrived at Liverpool from New

York yesterday, which port she left on the 8th instant. The news include an arrival from California, which dates to the 1st of February. Business was very dull at San Francisco. The North America had arrived at New York with 480,000 dollars in gold dust. Twelve hundred thousand dollars' worth of gold dust had arrived at Panama. The British steamer Orion had left Chagres on the 24th of February, with 800,000 dollars in silver, and one million dollars in gold. Another fearful steam-boat explosion had taken place, the Oregon having blown up on the Ohio river, killing and wounding about sixty

Another explosion, attended with loss of life, has taken place in the neighbourhood of Paisley. On Wednesday night the boiler of the engine attached to the flax-spinning works of Messrs. Finlayson, in the village of Johnstone, three miles west of Paisley, exploded, by which eight men and boys were instantly deprived of life. The works had been temporarily suspended while the workmen were taking some refreshment in the fire-room. A large portion of the building was blown down; and while exertions were making to rescue the sufferers from the ruins, it was discovered that the mill itself was on fire. This was caused by the hot cinders having been driven through the partitions into the inner apartments of the factory. The fabric, with its valuable contents, has been almost wholly consumed.

The inhabitants of the parish of Wingfield, in the county of Suffolk, were horrified, on Tuesday last, at hearing that a single woman, twenty years of age, named Maria Clarke, had murdered her infant, six weeks old, by burying it alive, in a meadow. She had left Puham union house on Tuesday last, for the purpose of being married to a labourer, living in the neighbourhood. In the afternoon she was seen carrying her infant, going towards Mr. Hill's meadow, with a spade. During the evening, in consequence of her appearing without her child, she was questioned as to where it was, and she admitted that she had buried it in Mr. Hill's meadow. She was taken into custody, and on the following morning the meadow in which she said she had buried the child was searched, when the body of the child was found buried about six inches under the turf; the spade with which it is supposed the mother dug the grave was found in a ditch close by, covered with water. After being remanded by the magistrate on the charge she made a confession to the following effect:—"I was fearful that the young man who promised to marry me would not do so if he knew that I had a child, and I, in consequence, was anxious to get rid of it. I had not entertained the slightest notion of murdering my child until I came out of one of our neighbours' cottages, where I saw a spade standing outside the cottage. I took up the spade, went into the meadow, dug a hole, and laid my child in. I then covered the child over with earth, and to stifle its screams I stamped upon the sod. When the child was covered up with the earth I heard it cry. I then sat down upon the place where I had buried it, and in a short time after I went home."

Elizabeth Gibbs, cook, was tried at Carmarthen Assizes on Wednesday for the wilful murder of her mistress, Mrs. Severne, and of Rebecca Uphill, a fellow servant, at Laugharne. Both deaths had been caused by arsenic administered in food, and one witness said she had seen the prisoner put some white powder in the broth given to Ann Uphill, the day the latter died. The jury returned a verdict of not guilty as regards the murder of Ann Uphill, but the prisoner was afterwards to be tried for the murder of her mistress.

The trial of John Firth for the murder of his brother, at Thurloland, on the 21st of January, commenced at York on Wednesday, and was brought to a close on Thursday, when the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

A manifestation of the students took place in Paris, on Thursday, in favour of Professor Michelet, which led to the arrest of a considerable number of the ringleaders in the affair. The procession, which insisted upon proceeding to the Assembly, was three times put to flight by the police before it ultimately dispersed. Between forty and fifty of the most obstreperous were arrested and carried to the Prefecture of Police.

A strange and thrilling discovery was made in Paris on Thursday by a workman employed at the restoration of the Palais de Justice. The mummy of a female was found walled up in the portion of the building he was engaged in demolishing.

The Socialists of the Croix-Rousse, at Lyons, made a demonstration on Tuesday by attending, in number about 10,000, the funeral of one of their body, a workman named Matthey. No priest officiated at the interment. Only about forty persons were admitted to the cemetery, and when the body was lowered to the grave the crowd was ordered by the police agents to disperse, which was done at once. There was no breach of order, but the military and police were kept ready to act at a moment's notice.

The German papers state that the cabinet of St. Petersburg has addressed a note to the cabinet of Vienna, strongly objecting to the entrance of the whole Austrian monarchy into the Bund, without the consent of all the parties to the treaty of 1815.

A note has been received from Vienna containing a reply to the Prussian memorial of the 9th instant. In this note the Austrian Cabinet expresses its goodwill and its perfect readiness to co-operate with Prussia for the creation of a permanent central Government. Nevertheless, Austria persists in demanding the Presidency. The Ministerial organs protest that the Prussian Cabinet is resolved to tack the annexation question to the question of the Presidency. If Austria insists on the Presidency, Prussia will oppose the annexation.

Some rioting took place on Monday at Auriol, Bouches du Rhone, on the occasion of the conscription. The authorities, aided by the military force, soon restored order.

SATURDAY, MARCH 22, 1851.

## Public Affairs.

There is nothing so revolutionary, because there is nothing so unnatural and convulsive, as the strain to keep things fixed when all the world is by the very law of its creation in eternal progress.—DR. ARNOLD.

## WHAT MEN ARE THINKING OF.

As you scud along a stormy sea, watching the wild regularity of the stormy waters, you will note how as one raging mountain chain has passed, before the next comes up, you seem to have fallen into a peaceful valley of still waters : you have fallen below the level of the tearing wind ; fix your eyes on the surface by the side of the vessel, and you shall see nothing but little mimic billows, which seem to chafe in sport ; the exhausted ship sinks to repose. But look closer into the waters, and you shall see the same boiling seething of the mass ; the hiss and jangle of the little mimic waves within the trough is about to be again overwhelmed by the roar already rising from the next raging mountain as it comes heavily but not slowly on ; and the vessel does but steady before the next stunning thunderclap of the never-staying waters.

So it is now in our sea of politics. It is absolute suspension. Men's minds are incapable of forming definite ideas. They sit and wait the next commotion ; and, from the unaccountable stillness now, they begin to fear that *something* is coming which will be very formidable.

The *Times*, hazarding an oracularly inexplicit conjecture, hints a new free trade struggle against protectionist reaction :—

"Some of the dangers with which we were threatened have turned out mere bugbears. The place of the Anti-Corn Law League has been supplied by a very gentle brood of Titans, in the shape of Financial Reformers, Educationists, and some special agitators against a tax or two. Cobden, instead of presiding over a Convention and proscribing country gentlemen by the dozen, is making himself useful at the Exhibition. Mr. Milner Gibson prefers yachting to the Admiralty. Mr. Bright shows no sign of a Benjamin Franklin. Mr. W. J. Fox confines himself to the delivery of set speeches of a more ideal than practical character. Some of the once formidable race have almost disappeared. Nobody can say we are nearer a democracy than we were six years ago, if so near. On the other hand, after a long struggle, the hottest Protectionists are at last cooling, and the Corn Laws are beginning to be spoken of with pious regret. But meanwhile how fares the party itself in charge of Free Trade ? Does it hold well together ? Does it increase in numbers and credit ? If Lord John Russell and his friends had to look on while another body of statesmen were winning the battle of Free Trade, they have at least been since allowed the opportunity of consolidating the conquest. In the slang of the day, a large 'political capital' fell into their hands, to be employed for the good of their country, and the strengthening of their cause. Free Trade was to be secured by a proper use of its *prestige* and results, just as the conquerors of a country can easily hold it while the memory of the deed is still fresh in the minds of the conquered. Is the cause of liberal government now stronger for its recent successes, and for the heavy blow and great discouragement given the classes and monopolies ? The question presses for a reply. \* \* \* \* Everybody who waits on Providence, believes the approaching fall of the Ministry to be the first step in a series of dispensations that is to lead him to power. The vultures are hovering over the prey. Every day has its omen. Defeats, vacillations, delays, complaints, and forebodings succeed one another with disastrous frequency. Affairs at last have come to that pass that the most secure and sanguine of Free traders are saying, that the battle of Free Trade will have to be fought over again, with all its ill-blood, its social perils, its questionable instruments, its parasitical agitations, its cost of money, of temper, of character, and of time."

There is much truth in these adumbrations, but not all the truth : there is the half that belongs to the past, but not that that belongs to the future. It is true that the gross mismanagement of the Free-trade party, in suffering the unconsolidated and unfinished fabric to remain under the incompetent guard of the Whigs—who never really cared for it—may renew a struggle for its defence, a wasteful contest far worse than the last in every characteristic ; it is true that the Protectionists desire to be active ; but the public at large feels that *Protection can never be restored*. But it also feels, that the main body and substance of Free trade is practically conquered already, so that any ulterior measures are mere appendices and supplements ;

and no primary or vital interest is felt about supplementary matters. Even if the next struggle is to be opened by the Freetraders and Protectionists, enemies of days of yore, it will not end there ; but the real struggle will be about something else.

About what ? Who shall say ? We may only fish a conjecture out of the ideas now floating in men's minds. What, then, are men thinking of ?

They are thinking that this bigot hubub about Popes at Rome and Anti-Popes in Downing-street, or elsewhere, must soon pass away ; that little Wood Budgets are but dwarf phantoms of a sickly stagnant night ; that *little* suffrage questions have been spoiled ; that the great "labour question" will soon demand *some* settlement ; so likewise will taxation—and national debt—and *LAND*.

Ay, land. In this lull, caused by the idleness of political leaders, men are beginning to go to the bottom of things ; and we are beginning to ask each other whether all this ado about nothing touches what we really want—whether, being so rich, we must also be so poor—being so wise, also so utterly unwise in all our plans—being so powerful, also so helpless that we must open our mouths and await the spontaneous bounties of a John Russell. Until the time of Charles the First, the bulk of the national expenditure was derived from the landholders, and from certain estates which the King kept in his own hands—the land being held on condition of military service, then commuted into money payments. The land was also liable for poor-rates, in lieu of the *confiscations* of Church revenue ; of which a third had been devoted to the poor.

Our taxation system—is that the construction of deliberate and final wisdom ? It was the Westminster Parliament that first voted an excise upon beer, wine, &c. ; and Oxford imitated the example. Pryme said it would be necessary "to use the people to it." Thus the burden was transferred to the shoulders of the working classes. In 1776, poor-rates amounted to £1,496,906 ; taxes amounted to £8,000,000. In 1833, poor-rates amounted to £6,700,000 ; taxes to some £80,000,000. Yet *poor-rates*, not *taxes*, were declared to be the ruin of the agricultural interest ! The Malthusian workhouse test was then applied : it reduced wages and increased competition, while *rent* had doubled, and in some instances quadrupled. Thus our taxation system has been made to throw the burden off those who originally bore it, and still decreed it ; to increase the pressure upon the poor ; to make the poor work harder and *be fewer*—to exhaust their labour, extract their earnings, and leave to them not even the common solaces of humanity. These are broad facts, disguise them as you may by "details" and "practical" pedantries ; and they are *dangerous* facts—even to those who think they profit by them. For injustice never yet was profitable.

But how is it that the poor, the People, are thus put upon ? They are not represented. *Rent* and *capital* are. Free trade saved us from one insurrection,—a food insurrection ; but it has not cured the essential political injustice—the unworkable construction of the political machine. In America representatives and direct taxes are apportioned according to numbers, and the census, taken every ten years, is a useful engine in that constant readjustment : with us the census is a mere "statistical" inquisition, regarded by many as a costly impertinence, without fruit or use. With us aristocratic power is suffering its inheritance to slip from it to the money power. Our representative system was purged of "rotten" boroughs, but is deliberately and intentionally kept full of scandals. Eight insignificant boroughs, Bridgnorth, Honiton, Harwich, Thetford, Totnes, Stafford, Richmond (in Yorkshire), and Limington, with an aggregate population of 40,000, return sixteen members ; London and its metropolitan districts, with more than two millions of population, centre of the national intelligence, return the same number—sixteen : in the eye of our Parliamentary system makers one boroughmonger of these favoured sites is worth fifty Londoners !

Men are thinking of these things—of the unawed but slow revolution which has converted *landlords* into *landowners* ; which has shifted public taxes from property that has grown stronger to people, who are kept weak and poor, are told to be few, and are not allowed to share in the government, though we boast that representation is coextensive with taxation. Men are now thinking of these things as they think in the quiet of a night between the busy days : but the day for active exertion is again dawning, and men are about to rise with the will that the thoughts of the night shall become the deeds of the morrow.

## POPE ASHLEY.

"I AM the Truth, you are Falsehood"—such is the assertion of the sectarian dogmatist, call him Catholic or Protestant. For all his Protestantism, Lord Ashley is a Pope, minus tiara and subjects. He advocates a bill to restore penalties against the names of Roman Catholic offices, and he does so on behalf of "the civil and religious liberties of half mankind" ! He stands by his own "immortal faith," and calls upon the House, expressly, "to repudiate and abhor" the ecclesiastical procedure of the Roman Catholics. Cardinal Wiseman's pastoral makes Lord Ashley "bethink himself of the power of which it is said that it had two horns like a lamb, but spake as a dragon."

Thus confident in his own truth, Pope Ashley, like another Peter the Hermit, sounds the trumpet to a religious war : Austria is panting to attack Sardinia ; another de Montfort is preparing to coerce the Waldenses ; Rome is assailing England ; but [Protestant] Ireland is rising "like a giant refreshed with wine," and the People of England knows its adversary—"that which has baffled monarchs, and withheld the force of public opinion for successive generations." An awkward admission !

Lord Ashley also admits that Lord John's bill will be inadequate to cope with that foe ; but does he not see that it will strengthen the foe ? And why talk of the "foe," which includes one-third of our fellow subjects ? Professedly Lord Ashley stands up for private judgment : but would he really concede it—would he defend the private judgment which doubted any point of doctrine that he considers essential ? No, Pope Ashley is not infallible : he stands up for private judgment ; but what he illustrates with so much animation is the usual substitute—public *want* of judgment.

## GERMANY—RETROSPECTS AND PROSPECTS.

GERMAN affairs are of a nature to try the temper of earnest and impatient lookers on. It is now three years since we heard that the Germans were determined to have a country, a federation, an empire—united fatherland. Germany has not been conquered—it has had no foreign enemy to contend with ; and yet it is further from its object than it was at the outset.

There was once a Germany : a mighty nation with a Monarch at the head of it. The Monarchy was an elective one : the constitution compleat, gothic, baroque. The right of election was exercised by a number of Princes, who soon became strong for their Sovereign ; some of whom attained utter independence, and raised themselves into rival potentates.

The electors had, then, destroyed the unity of Germany, and it was solely by their subjugation, by bowing them to the supremacy of a central power, that German unity could be reestablished. It mattered not whether the Monarchy should be again elective or rather hereditary. Little did it matter whether the country should be constituted into an empire or a commonwealth. This only was very clear, that unity, or even union, demanded the submission of all powers to one supreme authority.

The Germans understood it in March, 1848. They rose and put their foot—a clumsy foot, proverbially—on the neck of their Princes. They might have crushed—they spared them. The Princes were one with the People : ready to subordinate as much of their power as might interfere with the paramount interests of the common country.

All members having been bowed down to acknowledge a head, it only remained to determine where was the head ?

It was for the people to decide that for its representative, the National Assembly. The Assembly appointed an executive power, and, partial to monarchical institutions, it resolved in favour of an empire, and elected an imperial vicar.

There was no great harm ; there was, perhaps, great wisdom in all that. There is, we think, but little Republicanism in Germany, and the title of empire is not without the prestige of great historical associations.

The principle being established, difficulties arose as to the choice of a person. The candidates, according to all the laws of common sense, could only be three—the Prince of Lippe Detmold, the Emperor of Austria, or the King of Prussia. Either the weakest and humblest of the crowned heads, to be backed by all the omnipotence of popular will, or else one of those two powerful monarchs who had

the means to aid the popular will to overcome all jealousy or opposition.

Had we had a vote in the Assembly we would most certainly have given it for Lippe Detmold, for the revolution began with the People could only be completed by the People. The most unsubstantial and shadowy Prince, a mere puppet of an Emperor, could best have been set up as an emblem of the People's sovereignty.

The bewigged professors at Frankfort thought otherwise. They thought choice must be made between Austria and Prussia. Even then they would not decide at once for one of the two reigning monarchs. The Germans rest all their faith in half measures and procrastination. The choice lay not between Prussia and Austria, but between a Prussian Prince or an Austrian Archduke. Upon that Prince they would not confer the imperial honours, but merely put him at the head of a Provisional Government, not an Emperor, but a Vicar of the Empire.

Even these delays and hesitations might have been less fatal if the choice had been wise and generous. However temporal the rank, the Assembly should have felt the choice was permanent. Give either of the two great dynasties the power in hand, and it must indeed be its own fault if it does not wield it to its own advantage.

Now the choice between Prussia and Austria was easy enough, if the Germans had only had their unity in view. Prussia was German : Austria could

only become German by ceasing to be Austrian. Had the country, from the beginning, unconditionally thrown itself into the arms of Prussia nothing was easier than to conquer from Austria what belonged to Germany. Austria was already on the brink of dissolution. Every nation was coming by its own, and Austria would have returned to that nothing from which it sprung. But the German patriots were swayed by base material interests ; they were seduced by the prospect of a vast extent of territory ; they felt that by clinging to Austria Germany would still have the Adriatic, the Danube, the whole south-east of Europe open to its enterprise. The Republicans also, dissatisfied with the resolution of the Assembly in favour of monarchical forms, gave their vote for that among the German monarchies that seemed now more irreparably crumbling ; flattering themselves that they thus built the German empire on the sand, and that upon the removal of that ill-contrived imperial scaffolding nothing but their own democratic edifice would remain. Religious dissensions further complicated these difficulties. The Catholics, especially in the south, would not hear of a Lutheran Emperor.

Thus did Austria carry the day. The measure of improvidence, of arrant folly, was filled : the actual suicide of Germany, as a nation, was consummated by the election of an Austrian archduke. Not but this Prince (the Archduke John) might have been recommended by personal qualities. But the Austrian predilections of that besotted Frankfort Assembly did not stop there. The archduke was suffered to build up an almost exclusively Austrian Cabinet, and as if more distinctly to bring before the world the identity between the Central Power of Germany and the Monarchy of the House of Hapsburg, he had no sooner made his triumphant entry into the city of the ancient German Diet, on the 11th of July, than he was called to open the National Assembly at Vienna on the 22nd of the same month.

Meanwhile parties could not be made to acquiesce in these unwise dispositions. The Republicans, who thought the moment favourable, too hastily dropped the mask, and both at Frankfort, and at Vienna and Berlin, obtained one day's victory, and were immediately crushed. The Imperialists, those, that is, who really cared for Germany, stood up for Prussia, and carried an election in favour of its King. But the weakness of this party, and the eternal doubts and misgivings of that soft-headed King frustrated the last hopes of the country, and the reaction which was at first merely directed against the Democrats, swept over the Federalists, the moderate as well as the enraged patriots, before it.

March, 1849, came, and the People, it was very clear, had lost all control over its destinies. Germany should never be, or only on such terms as its Princes dictated. The day of assemblies was gone by : the destinies of the country were now in the hand of Princely Congresses or Conferences.

Now a union of Germany was not merely a desideratum for the People : it was, to a certain extent, and under certain conditions, a matter of

necessity for the Princes also. The German Princes had enemies, both at home and abroad. The weakest among them required help against their own subjects : the strongest kept together for the sake of resisting foreign aggression. In proportion as the People lay more helplessly prostrate at their feet, in proportion as the peace of Europe seemed to rest on sounder bases, some of the most sanguine and ambitious showed some symptoms of self-reliance : they traced out their own course, regardless of their neighbours, regardless of Germany. Austria, victorious over Italy and Hungary, constituted itself altogether as if no Germany existed : the time had passed for Austria to bow to Germany : the time was soon to come when Germany was to receive the law from Austria. Austria had declared itself one and invisible, and she was altogether too great to be swallowed by Germany. The absorption of Germany by her had, consequently, become matter of necessity. The People, as we have seen, had no longer any voice in the question : matters were to be settled between Austria and her only rival, Prussia ; and, as if this latter power had not already too greatly laboured under the evil of numerical inferiority, it had to contend against the imbecility or bad faith of its King, the senseless Conservatism of its aristocracy, the mean spirit of intrigue of its statesmen and soldiers, and, further still, with the threats of Russia, and the unfriendly influence of French and English diplomacy.

Prussia gave in, of course ; at least she has shown the utmost readiness to give in. Materially, Austria has accomplished the subjugation of Germany ; not the People alone, but the Princes themselves, especially the Kings, are seized with dismay, and would fain bethink themselves of resistance. Prussia still affects freedom of action, talks big, insists upon votes in the Council now she has, without even a show of fighting, been ignominiously beaten off the field. Bavaria puts forth her claims to the gratitude of Austria for the dirty work done by her in behalf of that power, when it had to withstand the attack of all the nationalities of Europe. Wurtemberg throws itself upon the sympathies of the People ; tries once more the old dodge of a National Parliament, hoping to raise an obstacle on the path of that headlong Schwarzenberg, who tramples on Old no less than on Young Germany, and who begins at last to frighten the cooler set of Austrian statesmen themselves. The other petty Kings, Hanover, Saxony, and Bavaria, have taken up the cry of him of Wurtemberg : nothing is talked about in Berlin itself but the Federal Parliament, and Prussia herself, now strong by the support of France and England, once more makes some semblance of standing her ground against her overbearing imperial rival.

There is, if we may believe a pretty general report—there is dismay and disunion in the Austrian councils : and there also, as here amongst us, the desperate measure of “ sending for the Old Doctor ” has been contemplated. Strange, indeed, if none but the men and measures of 1815 were to save Europe in 1851 ; Metternich and Wellington ! Metternich is said to have preached moderation. Prussia should not be driven to extremities : Austria should not insist on too close a centralization : Germany should be brought back to the Old Diet. The Old Doctor can think of nothing but the old *nostrum*. And we have no doubt that, and that alone will be the finale of the present German agitation. Frankfort will welcome back its old Bund in all its magnificent impotence. Germany will have no Union, but the sorriest possible apology for a Union. Prussia has already declared that the present difficulties admit of no other solution. The Kinglets will be as safe as they were. No one is loser by the restoration, the People excepted.

And the People ? The People of Germany can afford to wait. It smokes and meditates. It was roused into action in 1848, not by its own effort, but by the impulse of France and Italy. As the movement was not spontaneous so was it wayward and aimless. The Germans contrived to muddle and mystify what was sufficiently simple and obvious. It was with them a question of existence, and why should they have mixed it up with political and social subjects ? The solution of such problems should be left to England, to France, to countries already in full control over their own destinies. “ First catch your hare ”—is a golden rule in all sublunar matters. The Germans argued, subtilized, in obedience to that instinct they have of going to the bottom of all things. Now it is not always necessary to search so deep. You may sail across the Atlantic without troubling yourself about

its soundings. It mattered not on what terms Germany should be, if they could only have brought it into being on any terms. And, after all, the people did not expect this of its leaders. It had not started on republican principles. They wished to conquer and subdue, but not to destroy their Princes. After the compromise of March, 1838, the mention of a republic was treason ; not against the Princes merely, but against the People also. The People were made to break their word : how could the Princes be kept to theirs ?

Now matters are changed. If the Germans make a fresh start, it will be on clearer ground. There is war à outrance between the parties. The Princes have abused their victory : let them beware of the People when it again gets the upper hand. Even German loyalty is not proof against Prussian shuffling, Austrian blustering, or Hessian transplanning. A man must be sanguine, indeed, that would give five shillings for the most glittering of those German crowns ten years hence.

Ten years did we say ? Truly, Germany is not amenable to time. Princes and People, Diets and Assemblies, everything in Germany takes ages to deliberate. Let the nation smoke its pipe out. It will cost her no greater effort to sweep away her paltry tyrants, than the mere knocking off the ashes from her pipe, when she has done with it.

#### WHAT'S THE USE OF A BISHOP ?

WITHOUT any serious intention of injuring the episcopal bench, Lord Robert Grosvenor has succeeded in demonstrating that Bishops are useless. Most people fancy that the Bishop of London receives his £17,000 a-year for the great service he renders in keeping the Church in order. There never was a greater mistake. Charles James cannot keep his diocese in order though he were ever so much disposed. Lord Robert Grosvenor asks him what are the obstacles in the way of compelling an abandonment of practices in public worship unauthorized by the Rubric ? The Bishop of London replies that the law is not powerful enough. Where ceremonies have been introduced “ which have not the sanction either of written law or of long-established usage,” he merely says, “ I think that a clergyman is bound by his oath of canonical obedience to abstain from when required to do so by his ordinary.” But what is the use of a Bishop who only “ thinks ” that the clergyman ought to obey his superior ? If the ruler of a diocese cannot enforce obedience he ought to resign his situation. Poor man ! He finds it “ by no means easy to determine in what cases coercive measures can be safely resorted to, where moral suasion has been ineffectual.” We heartily sympathize with him. The task is certainly a hard one, but he must boldly grapple with it or else give up his £17,000 a-year. He that desireth the income of a bishop desireth a good thing, but in these days the work should be almost equal to the pay. Only look at the way in which Charles James is treated by his recusant subalterns :

“ The history of one of these cases is before the public, and shows the singular notions of canonical obedience with which I have had to deal. In another instance, to which public allusion has been made, a promise of compliance with my advice had scarcely been made when it was formally withdrawn ; and in another, my earnest and affectionate entreaties have been met with an unqualified refusal to discontinue the use of forms which had given very general offence to the parishioners.”

How long is this anarchy to last ? The Bishop of London is “ not without hope ” that the most objectionable of the innovations will be laid aside. That hope is vain. The longer the disease is left untouched the more deeply rooted will it become. But dare the Bishops ask Parliament for a new law to enable them to cast Puseyism out of the Church ? They are among the first to shrink from such a proposition ; and their head is the very first ; for the Archbishop of Canterbury, as will be seen from his reply to Lord Ashley, is quite as helpless as Charles James. The Evangelical party in the Church very naturally ask their chief overseer to assist in putting down the Puseyites ; and what does he promise ? He plainly admits that the Tractarian clergy are leading men over to Rome, but he cannot help it ! Henry of Exeter and his followers are too strong for him. Nevertheless he promises that he will strongly “ discountenance ” the Tractarian heresy. Anything more than that the law will not permit.

It appears that the name of Bishop (*episcopus*) has been misinterpreted : he may be appointed, as the name implies, to *oversee* everything in the clergy ; but when he espies a fault, his special

function, we find, is to overlook. They are to "comprehend all vagrom men," but when they do catch a culprit, they are—to let him go; and thank God for it! Thus, the Bishop of the English Church is promoted to be a sort of spiritual Verges; his Archbishop, a sacred Dogberry.

#### SECONDARY PUNISHMENTS.

THE magnitude of a subject ought to be no barrier to improvement. When mighty interests are engaged and mighty evils inflicted, it seems but child's play to attempt a cure with small botching quackeries that only amuse the patient and employ the time. Yet the earnest reformer, when he would institute a searching inquiry and apply a comprehensive remedy, is for ever met with the objection of the largeness of an evil—of its wide ramifications and complicated interests;—and the very causes which should operate as stimulants to action are made excuses for inaction. This may be careful bureaucratism, but it is bad morality and short-sighted policy, to say the least of it. We do not want the outside of the sepulchre whitened. A thorough radical reform—beginning honestly from the very heart's root of the matter—is the only thing that can satisfy our needs, or perfect our affairs. Yet modern statecraft gives this to the people as little as the *lits de justice*, or the councils of the Star Chamber of old.

To no subject do these remarks apply with more force than to the question of Secondary Punishments. It would be endless to enumerate the various specifics which have been tried for the due prevention and punishment of crime. Transportation under every conceivable form of arrangement, prisons under every most contradictory system of discipline, solitary cells, labour in gangs, unproductive and oppressive work, spiritual intoxication and religious frenzy, luxurious pampering, harsh brutalization, the degradation of the *forçat*, the freedom of the passholders, all have come within the range of coercion, and all have failed both for the prevention and the reformation of guilt. In spite of the new machinery now in vogue, by which a degraded felon is ground out into a high-minded citizen, our convicts gain less and less in favour with our colonies. The Cape repudiates our benefaction of picked criminality, and the Tasmanians petition unceasingly against the convictism which threatens to swamp their whole country. Turn where we will, among colonies experienced in the matter, we find Lord Grey's pet belief in the value of convict labour indignantly contravened. In Tasmania especially, what with the rapid decrease of the free settlers, and the alarming rise of convict immigration—what with *ad valorem* duties and protection to the manufactures of the mother country—there seems every chance that any Colonial Minister who shall follow Lord Grey's course will become not only a martyr to his own views, but an uncomprising inflictor of martyrdom on others.

True it is, the question of secondary punishments is fraught with every kind of difficulty and contradiction. A writer in the *Times* complains of the accumulation in our prisons, of convicts under sentence of transportation, and advises an instant disgorging of them on to foreign shores. Respectable citizens from our colonies weary Parliament with their unanswered prayers, and prophesy ruin to their countries from the influx of home-made crime. English humanity revolts at the prospect of men in chains working in our public ways and on our public buildings. English purses collapse at the prospect of lazy felony guarded in careful prisons, and delicately supported by the industry of the virtuous. On all hands it is a question beset with pitfalls for the Reformer, with misery for the supine; and, do what we will, nothing but wrong seems to be the result. Yet our modern measures deserve to fail, for they are begun without true faith in man, and founded on no one right view of human nature. Prisons, instead of schools, breed felons in place of citizens; and punishments after, instead of educational and social improvements before crime, only swell the county rates and degrade the national character. Bad laws manufacture paupers, poachers, thieves, and all the forms of outlawry, and then we get rid of the surplus by transportation!

All the arrangements in favour of convictism—all the delusive theories that a man transported from his old haunts loses half his temptation to future villainy—may be of weight in individual cases. But, surely, the prosperity and moral purity of a whole country are not to be sacrificed to the chance of a few individual reformations! If we are pol-

luted with crime, we ought to suffer for that pollution. We ought not to shuffle off the burden of our misdeeds on to innocent shoulders. Let the colonies support their own felony, and only their own; while we smart under the inflictions which bad government, bad laws, neglect, political nullity, and social depravity have brought on us. And this could well be done if prisons were made self-supporting. In them each man ought to work for the bread that he eats, for the clothes that he wears, for the rent of the cell where he lives. A prison life ought to be one of hard but productive toil, whereby a man shall work out his atonement as well as live free of cost to the county. A prison ought to be a place of poor fare and rough living, of self-denial and self-discipline. The solitary cell breeds bilious fancies but no practical energy. Its pampering delicacies are ill-fitted for men whose lives ought to be made up of toil and physical endurance; its spiritual teachings but unsuited for minds wanting in the first principles of the common virtues. It is a Government theory truly, but not a popular remedy; as little so to the various quackeries of the Colonial-office, which changes denominations while it retains facts; stultifying itself.

#### BAINES TO THE RESCUE.

THE honourable member for Hull ought to lose no time in pressing his Servants and Apprentices Protection Bill through Parliament. Another case like that of Jane Wilbred may not soon occur again, but there are many poor victims pining under masters and mistresses who would imitate Mrs. Brownrigg if they dared. We have elsewhere given an account of a poor lad who has been nearly starved and cuffed to death by a pair of tyrants in domestic life. Who knows how many thousands there may be in as bad a predicament?

#### THE IRISH IN AMERICA.

ONE virtue the people of Ireland possess in an eminent degree, and it is one of no ordinary value. No people in the world are in the habit of making greater sacrifices to assist their relatives. Look, for example, at the large sums they send home from America to pay for the passage of those friends they have left behind. Through one office in Dublin alone, drafts to the amount of £25,000 in small sums, were remitted last year to take out the relatives of those who had previously emigrated. The drafts upon the Royal Bank, for a similar purpose, amounted to £100,000 last year. When do we ever hear of English emigrants sending home money to assist their poor relatives? The instances are very rare.

#### HOW TO GET AN INCOME TAX.

ASK the consent of the People to a tax for some "emergency;" you can then keep the tax for general use.

If you have no emergency ready you can make one; as by threatening to cut your own throat, or to resign.

#### HOW TO USE A SURPLUS ECONOMICALLY.

MAKE a feint of "repealing" various taxes, more or less; then revoke, and tell each claimant that you would have obliged him, but that you are prevented by everybody else.

This will make a great outcry of hungry disappointment: then throw your surplus to the loudest clamour, and leave the rest to vent their annoyance on him.

It makes very good sport: almost as good as letting aquatic birds in St. James's park scramble for biscuit.

**EMPLOYMENT OF THE POOR.**—The profitable employment of the poor, once felt to be as stern a necessity as the creation of a railroad, ten thousand busy intellects will devote themselves to surmount all difficulties in the former as in the latter case. It is the bugbear of "failure" which does so much mischief; for with faith only can men move mountains. Social experiments must fail before they can succeed, just as much as the child must often fall before he can walk well. Failure supplies the ashes out of which the glorious Phoenix of Success must arise.—*Hole's Social Science*.

**THE YEAR 1851.**—Presuming that of these two millions one-half may be expected in constant transit, it is no easy achievement for the imagination to grasp the train of monstrous images suggested by the realized fact of three millions and a half of people careering in full swing of strangeness and bewilderment through the streets of London. It is literally a kingdom poured into a town—Belgium or Holland, for instance; or, returning to our figures, the whole of the united populations of Baden, Westphalia, Greece, and Nassau. Contemplate it in whatever aspect we may, it is more like a vision of a distempered brain, or the amplification of an Oriental allegory, than an actual occurrence taking place under our eyes in sober England in the nineteenth century. There has never been such a gathering before since the world began. The fabulous hordes that ravage the Celestial Empire in the pages of its hyperbolical history sink into insignificance in comparison.—From *Fraser* for February.

#### Literature.

Critics are not the legislators, but the judges and police of literature. They do not make laws—they interpret and try to enforce them.—*Edinburgh Review*.

ONE dominant characteristic of the literature of the present day is the religious fermentation which manifests itself in light novels and in poems, as in grave deliberate works. A deep unrest and mighty struggle agitate the young minds of this generation, falling away from the old ranks of uninquiring orthodoxy, and passing to the two great opposing camps—Catholicism and Spiritualism. Scepticism is losing its light careless *poco curante* tone, and deepening its voice with the grave accents of an earnest faith—it is ceasing to be mere indifference or denial, and becoming active affirmation, replacing old formulas by new and larger formulas, instead of simply saying that the old are old, worn out, effete. In the Church itself this spirit makes striking progress. Doubt troubles the young neophytes. The conflict of Science with Revelation bewilders them. Taught a sounder philosophy than the metaphysics of the middle ages, they begin to see that these metaphysics turned to explain the religious conceptions of a barbarian race, can no longer be the *Creed of Christendom* (as Mr. W. R. GREG names his new work), and that this nineteenth century must have a religious philosophy consonant with its knowledge and belief, not the religious philosophy of the middle ages.

We are touching here upon the chronic disorder of our age, the unrest of earnest men, the *Yeast*—as a remarkable writer aptly designates it—which makes society ferment. Apropos of this book, *Yeast—a Problem*, which now lies on our table, we are betraying no confidence in ascribing it to the author of *Alton Locke* (the fact is sufficiently public); but we mention the authorship for the purpose of indicating the spirit of the book: written in the pages of *Fraser's Magazine* before *Alton Locke*, it gives utterance to the same energetic protest and voice of warning against religious formalism as *Alton Locke* does against political formalism; in the one as in the other attention is called to a corrupt state of things, to the dangers of that corruption even to those who now securely bathe on it, and to the new spirit which is rising and will either bring anarchy or peace according as we are heedless or observant of it: anarchy, if it be perpetually opposed by drowsing of old formulas; peace, if it be conciliated by the old formulas being enlarged to give it free scope!

In Foreign Literature there seems even less activity than in our own. When we have recorded that *EUGENE SUE* has given us the two first volumes of a modern story, *La Bonne Aventure*—not soiled with blood and dirt, as his pages usually are—and that *HENRI MURGER* has given us a companion volume to his *Scènes de la Bohème* in the shape of some stories called *Scènes de la Vie des Jeunesse*, we believe that our budget is exhausted.

**THE RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT IN ITALY.**  
*Deals with the Inquisition, or Papal Rome, her Priests, and her Jesuits, with Important Disclosures.* By the Reverend Giacinto Achilli, D.D., &c.

IT was most probably out of mere perversity that some one suggested, in the heat of the great "Battle of the Churches," as a ready means of retaliating on the Papal aggression, that England should send forth a hierarchy of her own into Italy—a Dr. Achilli, Bishop of the Vatican, and a Father Gavazzi, Apostolic Vicar of the Trastevere. Those dioceses would be no bed of roses, for a certain; but England has far reaching arms, and the new mitres should be placed under protection of her naval might, the fangs of the bulldog, or the quills of the porcupine, to screen from harm the pastors and their flock.

In sober earnest, whoever has a quarrel to settle with the Pope can find nowhere more willing or more efficient auxiliaries than among the Italians themselves. Other people love or hate, revere or despise, the Pope; but the Italians alone know him. In some countries men dread the spread of his

corrupting doctrines, elsewhere they are on their guard against his temporal usurpations; but the Italians have him on their neck, body and soul. It is a question of life and death there, and a question which would have been settled a great many years since, had the two parties been left face to face without extraneous interference.

All revolution in Italy is twofold. So long as a foreign enemy tramples on that ill-fated nation, there will be a Pope in the world; and no longer. The fate of the Court of Rome is inexorably involved in that of Austria. The short compromise between Pius IX. and the Italian patriots, in 1848, was no exception. The veneration and gratitude of the Italians would even then have gone no farther than to offer Pius the Presidency of the National Diet; but that was with the understanding that his power as a Sovereign was for ever at an end, and that the States of the Church should be thoroughly secularized.

The Italian revolution, however unsuccessful, has not been altogether void of results. Italy has been trodden down, but not crushed. Public opinion has found an utterance that all Austria's might will never hush up. A vast division of the country, Piedmont, is still in the enjoyment of unlimited freedom of opinion. In Tuscany the press, however shackled and racked, is not hopelessly gagged. Nay, in the very Lombardo-Venetian provinces, newspapers spring up daily, and their tone and spirit is something unlike what Austrian subjects were used to in the palmy days of Metternich. Italy wields still the sword of opinion, and it is easy to see against what breast its point will be aimed. With Austria, France, and all the other complication of foreign evils no words needs be wasted. There are no two ways of viewing the question. It is matter of sheer force; arguments and protests have no weight here.

But the Pope! that is nowadays the game for a high-spirited Italian. Whoever cannot be a soldier in Italy, becomes a theologian. The Pope will have to bear the brunt of all the war that Italy is in no condition to wage against her foreign oppressor. Pius IX. and his priesthood will be a kind of quintaine against which the young knights will try the temper of their weapons previous to fleshing them in the breast of worthier antagonists.

We need no other evidence than our faith in the unalterable laws of human progress to assure us that a great moral and religious revolution is going on in Italy at the present moment. But if we needed further evidence, we would only have to look over the lists of recent publications at Turin, where the Vaudois preachers have familiarized themselves with the Italian language merely to enable themselves to establish their chapels throughout the Sardinian monarchy; merely to lay before their Italian brethren the record of all the persecution they and their fathers had to endure for conscience sake; merely to put the tenets of the Church of Rome to the test of rational inquiry. We see translations of Archbishop Whately's works at Turin, and Italian bibles, with or without commentaries, even at Milan. To attend the Grisons Protestant chapels has become matter of fashion at Florence: the youths at the Sienna University will sooner fight than confess: in short, it is impossible to say what the Italians will not do to spite the Pope.

But now the question arises: Supposing the Italians by direct or indirect means to acquire the right of following the dictates of their consciences in religious matters, on what forms of creed and worship are they likely to become permanently settled?

Dr. Achilli is very confident about it: to the Latin or Roman, an Italian Catholic Church is to be substituted. The idea of this important revolution sprung up in his mind at Viterbo and Rome, where he filled the office of Professor of Theology. In consequence of his opinions, he was, in spite of his distinguished talents and of the favour he enjoyed at the court of Gregory XVI., thrown into the dungeons of the Inquisition, from which he was only released "for want of any definite charge being exhibited against him." This was in September, 1842. Since that time an exile in Corfu, Zante, Malta, he pursued his scheme of an Italian Church in all those different localities, till the revolt of 1848-1849 enabled him to carry on his scheme at Rome itself under the patronage of Mazzini's Government. He tarried there after the downfall of the republic, was arrested by the French in their capacity of Papal *sbirri*, and by them "suffered to escape" after a few months' confinement in the Castle of St. Angelo.

Dr. Achilli is an earnest, sincere writer. His *Dealing with the Inquisition* is not something got up for the gratification of the saints at Exeter Hall, like so many other works published by other Italian "converts" before him, under such titles as *My Confessions*, *My Revelations*, &c. &c. Dr. Achilli writes, as he acted, from deep conviction. But he takes it for granted that his faith would be the faith of Italy, if the country were ever allowed the free choice of a religion; and there we differ with him. An Italian reformer in the nineteenth century should set up no other cry than "Down with the Pope!" *Accidentia al Papa!* as the Roman Transteverini have it. The complication of any other question will only involve him in controversies in which he is not sure to come off a conqueror. Theology needs not to be abstruse or cavillous in Italy. It takes no great subtlety of argument to sicken the Italians of their winking Madonnas, of the bubbling blood of their saints. Catholicism in Italy is something infinitely more clumsy, more abject, than even Cullen or Wiseman would attempt to introduce into this country. No being above the level of the commonest brute could ever submit to it, and the causes of this shocking degradation must not all be sought in the craft of the priest, as in the incorrigible proneness to grovelling superstition on the part of the people themselves.

A people like the Italian, in its present abjection, cannot be dealt with with reason alone: appeal must be made to its passions, and that more thriving spirits, like Father Gavazzi, are doing.

An Italian can be a patriot and yet a Christian, a Catholic, apostolic, Roman Christian. The demolition of the mere temporal power of the Pope can be safely attempted, and it were wise, we think, to limit the work of the Reformers to that object merely. We do not think there are two religious opinions in Italy; there are only the illiterate, who believe all; and the educated classes, who believe nothing. Both require great management. Real truth is sure to make its way in the end; but we see no chance for any one who would force a ready-made truth upon such discordant elements.

Dr. Achilli is still wise enough to admit of latitude and compromise:—

"The reformation that we advocate and preach, is not founded on novelty. We profess no other belief than what the Holy Scriptures distinctly and directly authorize; and we repudiate all that in later ages has been added by men. Our worship, therefore, goes back to the practice of primitive Christianity, pure, simple, and spiritual; adapted to the requirements and the devotion of the faithful; not bound by laws to any particular form, but varying according to the necessities of times, places, and persons. Our doctrine is in agreement with the Bible, and our forms are similar to those of the Reformed Evangelical Church. The slight difference that may exist between ourselves and the members of other reformed churches, does not prevent us from calling them as brethren. Moreover, as we profess to derive our origin from no one particular founder, and render thanks to God for having through His grace enabled us to reform ourselves, we are willing to extend our sympathy towards all our Christian brethren, whatever may be their denomination. We even hope that our Church will be distinguished by a greater spirit of conciliation than is perhaps to be found in others. Each of us will be enrolled in the Evangelical Alliance, and will preach the doctrines of union and concord; faith, charity, and good works."

"Whether we shall adopt the Episcopalian or the Presbyterian form of government, I cannot yet say. To tell the truth, I am not at present greatly interested about the question, since I consider it altogether a secondary one. It will greatly depend on the Bishops of the Latin Church in Italy. If they receive and promote our views, it is probable that they may, like the Bishops of England, be received by the general body of the Reformers; otherwise they will be done away with, as is the case in Scotland, Switzerland, and other countries; we shall have pastors in their stead, and among them some will be appointed, as presidents, to offices of greater authority. I am inclined to believe that the change of name will be sufficient to induce the reform. The word bishop is of Greek origin, and would be better rendered by the word moderator, inspector, or superintendent; which would at once get rid of the idle notion of the reformed bishops, respecting the apostolic succession, and all its presumed rights and privileges. I maintain the absolute necessity of a complete and thorough reform of what is degraded and abused. As to anything further I am for my own part indifferent about it."

This is, however, too much in the language of the evangelical alliance. Dr. Achilli is willing to allow the Italians to build their church according to their own rules of architecture, so that it is grounded on the great corner-stone of the Bible. But, in the first place, we do not believe that the majority of thinking Italians will have anything whatever to do with the Bible. In the second place will Dr. Achilli frankly subscribe to any conclusion men have or may come to with the Bible? Is he prepared to hail the Unitarians, Universalists, and the like as "his Christian brethren." Yet they,

too, have grounded their faith on the same rock; and there are men amongst them as distinguished for heart-felt piety as for talents, learning, and high reasoning faculties.

Though nothing is farther from our intention than to charge Dr. Achilli with worldly motives for his connection with Sir Culling Eardley, Exeter-hall, and all that alliance, we must, nevertheless, regret that the connection exists, inasmuch as it binds him to certain tenets and principles which, unless we are greatly mistaken, will always render his mission suspicious in Italy. A reform in Italy must for a long time be a purely negative work—a work of destruction. Wage war against the temporal power of the Pope; lay bare the gross corruption and debauchery of the higher priesthood; expose all sham miracles, all juggleries and mummeries; you will have all rational beings with you, and your reform will keep pace with the progress of education amongst the lower orders. The Italians, we feel convinced, will have nothing to do with a new church: either the old one was God's work or it was not: if it was, you have only to do away with the superstructure and you will find it safe and sound underneath, for every Divine thing must needs be eternal. Or even that was originally false or imperfect, and what security will you give us that Dr. Achilli and Sir Culling Eardley will not lead us astray for the future as the successors of the apostles have done for the past? It is so that Italians will speak, and how will the reformers answer? By a reference to reason? But is the matter satisfactorily settled where reason is subject to no political fetters? Can any revolution in Italy bring about a more thorough emancipation of thought than has been effected in France, in Belgium, in England, or the United States? Ye hypocrites! why do you insist on seeing the mote in the eye of your Italian brothers, and are blind to the beam that is in your own eye? You champions of the evangelical alliance, does reason yet prevail in Ireland, in England itself? Can you walk a mile throughout London, or ride two out of it, without stumbling on the threshold of convents or nunneries? Can all your tracts save us from Cullens and Wisemans, that we must needs lose a session of our Legislature, and keep up a Whig Ministry to defend us from Papal aggressions? Have we not hundreds of thousands of Bibles in circulation? Have we stinted you when you came round for subscriptions in behalf of new churches, chapels, and bishoptoices? Build up an Italian church, forsooth! Tell us how we can help the Anglican Church from going to the dogs?

But we had almost lost sight of our Doctor. Dr. Achilli, then, is not satisfied with demolishing the *Latin Church*, but must needs substitute the *Italian* in its stead. With that view, he tells us he imported a great many thousands of Diodati's Italian Bibles and Testaments, which Sir Culling and his friends supplied. He even published an edition of his own of the latter work at Rome, the best part of which has now fallen into the Pope's clutches. During his eight years' exile, the Doctor tried his hand at building churches in the Ionian Islands and at Malta; he is now laying the foundation of a similar establishment in England. Of the churches of Corfu and Malta he gives us the following accounts:—

"My preaching in the Italian Church, as I have already stated, began about eight years ago, and I have been continually occupied in carrying it forward. From Corfu to Zante, and from thence to Malta, where, in the midst of opposition, not only from my enemies, but also from my weaker brethren, I established my church."

He met with a terrible opposition on the part of some of his own countrymen; but, nothing daunted, he removed to Malta itself, and there attempted to establish, not a church merely, but a college of missionaries; "from which," he says, "we might send forth our new preachers throughout Italy. This, however, did not take effect, for it is written: 'My ways are not your ways, nor are your ways my ways.'"

Full of the scheme of this college, Dr. Achilli came to England in 1847, held meetings in every town, and collected subscriptions. The saints helped him to the best of their abilities, and it was precisely their aid that foiled him. On his return to Malta he called together a few runaway Italian priests, who, by their quarrels and calumnies, first defeated all his plans, and then turned as open enemies against him:—

"Five months of vexation, opposition, and annoyance succeeded. . . . Keosse himself, after having accomplished his mission,—the college being destroyed, and myself compromised in the estimation of those who

were not acquainted with the business,—after having awakened discord, inseminated scandal, turned Protestantism into heresy, and elated the Jesuits with their victory, now turned his back on the Malta Protestant College, and repaired to Rome, to receive the reward of his labours: doubtless he will be made a Bishop."

Dr. Achilli designates this opposition of his own partisans as "persecution;" but, surely, even the Governor of Malta would not have interposed in these matters, and the Bible, truth, and reason ought to have made their way there, if there is any hope of their ever prevailing against the power of darkness:—

"The Italian Church I had established at Malta augured well, not only for the place itself, but for the whole continent of Italy, and for the island of Sicily also. I do not think it possible for the Anglican Church to prosper in Malta. All the efforts that have been made to that effect, for the last forty-eight years, have proved to the contrary. The English language is not adapted for a people who have received the language of Italy through tradition, from the Knights of Malta, and from its commercial relation with Sicily and the Levant, whose merchants carry on their traffic in Italian. Besides, it is to be noted that the people have no sympathy with the religion of their rulers, especially in these times, when they are on bad terms with their governors. Ireland is a speaking example of the truth of this remark. If reform be at all possible in Malta, it must be of Italian origin, and the Italian language must be employed, both for teaching and for worship."

"My esteemed friend Camilleri, who avowedly devotes himself to the service of his native place, is at length convinced of this fact; and joins me in the work I am undertaking.

"It may be urged that the Maltese have a language of their own, but it is neither studied nor cultivated, and is little esteemed; it is entirely confined to the lower orders, and is a spoken, not a written, language: the Italian, on the other hand, is the language of the educated classes. I have always advanced these arguments to those who sought to ameliorate the religious condition of this people. I have disengaged the translating in the Maltese language either the New Testament or the English liturgy; as has been done by the Bishop of Gibraltar; since whoever in that country desires to read, chooses the Italian language, which is preferred to all others. And it is on this account that none but an Italian Church can hope to supersede the Latin one; and that only after a long laborious effort. Provided the Italian Church were established in Malta, it would greatly tend to its extension in Sicily, since the place is much resorted to by the Sicilians, both for business and pleasure: and lately indeed by unfortunate refugees. During the whole time that our church was open, many worthy Sicilians frequented it in preference to any other, and each of these, on returning home, carried with him at least his Bible, with the Christian Catechism, which we gave away on the occasion.

"All is now over, through a jealousy the most foolish, the most incoherent I ever heard of. Weak men suffered themselves to be deceived and overcome, and after having made their first false step, had the folly to persist in and vindicate their error. I witnessed the fall of a Church, which yet was 'built on the foundation of the Apostles and the Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.' I had to lament over the destruction of the little work we effected in the Lord's vineyard, and the dispersion of the labourers. Oh, how many tears have I shed over the destruction of our infant Church! God alone knows what I have done to raise and preserve it. Those who, to their eternal disgrace, have occasioned this evil will doubtless meet with due punishment. At any rate, I have the consolation of being free from remorse."

We say, amen, with all our heart, convinced that the Doctor meant well, but that his connection with the English saints had put him in a false position.

Since his return to England, Dr. Achilli, who "views his mission as inseparably connected with his native country, and whose holy ambition is to resume his labours there, sooner or later, in the establishment of an Italian Church—is, in the meanwhile endeavouring to preserve the germ of it alive by celebrating Divine worship 'pure and undefiled before God,' and imparting religious instruction on the Sabbath, and at fit seasons to as many of his unfortunate fellow-refugees and others of his countrymen as show themselves desirous of it; trusting that 'what is sown in tears will be reaped in joy.'

Of the success of his Italian Church in London, we shall say nothing; for our readers can satisfy themselves on that subject by personal attendance at his chapel. His "fellow refugees," we are afraid are rather a tough set of votaries to deal with.

We once more give our impression that all attempts at religious construction in Italy, are, to say the least, premature. It will take time and patience to overcome the loathing of all thinking men in Italy against the faith of their fathers. Their hatred of Popery is necessarily hasty and indiscriminate. Till they have carried their war against it to a happy issue, they will not hear one word about anything, however remotely, connected with it. The Italian Church contemplated by Dr. Achilli, in spite of all his protests to the contrary, will also be

objectionable on the score of nationality. We English have spurned the Pope, especially because he was an "Italian Priest." The Italians are not likely to welcome even a countryman, however upright and zealous, who appears before them in the name of the "English" Evangelical Alliance.

Italian religion, like Italian liberty, must spring from the very heart of the country, free from foreign influence—not only never soliciting, but stoutly rejecting any extraneous aid; for only in this strict, disdainful exclusiveness can real spontaneity and self-dependence be found.

We fear Sir Culling Eardley and his gifts.

#### THE DREAMER AND THE WORKER.

*The Dreamer and the Worker: a Story of the Present Time.* By R. H. Horne, Author of *Orion, Cosmo de Medici, &c.* 2 vols. Colburn.

THE eternal antithesis of Men of Thought and Men of Action has furnished R. H. Horne with the subject of a novel which rises above the mass of novels by the elevation of its conception and the philosophic truth which it embodies, although in point of execution it is open to very serious objections. We are not, however, disposed to dwell upon its faults as a work of fiction, inasmuch as both story and character are obviously subordinate in the author's mind to the elucidation of those general principles which they set forth. He probably knows quite as well as his critics that his strength does not manifest itself in the invention of a story.

The twofold condition of our nature, sensual and spiritual, practical and theoretical, with earthly needs and heavenly yearnings, with feet fixed on the ground and eyes following the stars, and the incessant combat waged between these two antagonists may be said to be the source of all poetry and philosophy, and cannot be too often illustrated. It is a subject never old. It is a subject wherein all may behold their own struggles reflected as in a mirror. R. H. Horne has chosen the antagonism as it masses itself into two sections of society, in the Dreamers and the Workers, with a view of showing to both their limitations and positions. He does not say to the Dreamer: thou art an idle useless creature, living like a drone in this garden of the world! He does not say to the Worker: thou art the complete, active, useful man, from thee and such as thee will the world receive its right impulse! He sees clearly enough that the Dreamer is in his sphere also a Worker, labouring with his soul as another labours with his hands, but that his labour needs the labour of other men to fructify it, no less than the Worker needs the spiritual influence of the Dreamer ere he can become an intelligent, useful labourer.

While society, with its fondness for broad generalizations, masses men into Thinkers and Doers, as if the distinction held good in fact, Nature, who never generalizes, makes men always both Thinkers and Doers, though to each individual man she assigns in a different degree the predominance of one or other tendency. As no man would be complete without this twofold nature, this capacity for thought and action, so neither would society be complete without the due admixture of Men of Thought with Men of Action—that is to say, men in whom the purely theoretic faculty is the leading characteristic, and men in whom the purely active practical tendency is predominant. Action is but incarnated Thought. It is Thought realizing itself in Fact. Nevertheless so strong is the repulsion between Men of Thought and Men of Action that a perpetual antagonism is kept up between them—the Dreamer scorning the Worker as an inferior being, the Worker sneering at the Dreamer as an idle visionary.

To reconcile these is the object of Horne's novel. He shows them that both are indispensable to each other, and that Thought should accompany Action "like perfect music set to noble words." He presents us in Archer with a genuine specimen of the Dreamer, and, what is more, one that would be styled an *useless Dreamer*: of a lofty rather than a powerful mind, with broad philanthropic schemes and a perfect integrity, writing poetry and philosophical novels which bring him neither pudding nor praise, scorned by his uncle and laughed at by ordinary men, Archer is nevertheless of very obvious utility in the world, if only in this single respect, viz., that he is a Dreamer. For be sure of this, that no visionary, be he never so derided, exists in vain; even in the breasts of those who mock at him, his presence and his language, his high aims and enthusiasm awaken the feelings which "business" routine, and daily needs have kept dormant.

The influence of such men on society is quite incalculable; they have a transcendent function in social geometry.

Archer is shown us as respected and beloved by a few of those around him; but the author's meaning is more strikingly developed in the character of Harding, the Worker. He is an honest, ignorant, truthful, hardworking man, with elevation of soul to feel and appreciate the greatness of Archer. Accident throws them together, and Archer's influence is almost immediately felt. It ends in the Worker becoming an instructed, thinking man, fully aware of the importance of theory, though his own dominant tendency is towards practice. A complete man is thus evolved. Harding is left to pursue his useful career. Archer will continue to exercise that spiritual influence which justifies his apparent idleness.

Such—as we read it—is the view of life set forth in these pages, but not illustrated with the precision desirable, so that in some respects we may have fallen short of and in some respects overstepped the author's intentions.

#### SPENCER'S SOCIAL STATICS.

*Social Statics; or, the Conditions essential to Human Happiness specified, and the first of them developed.* By Herbert Spencer, John Chapman. (Second Notice.)

HAVING shown by irrefragable logic that there can be no property in land in a system of true equity, Mr. Spencer next examines the "right of property" itself, and herein separates himself from Proudhon and the Communists whom he seemed to be upholding:—

"The doctrine that all men have equal rights to the use of the earth, does, indeed, at first sight, seem to countenance a species of social organization, at variance with that from which the right of property has just been deduced; an organization, namely, in which the public, instead of letting out the land to individual members of their body, shall retain it in their own hands; cultivate it by joint-stock agency; and share the produce: in fact, what is usually termed Socialism or Communism.

"Plausible though it may be, such a scheme is not capable of realization in strict conformity with the moral law. Of the two forms under which it may be presented, the one is ethically imperfect; and the other, although correct in theory, is impracticable.

"Thus, if an equal portion of the earth's produce is awarded to every man, irrespective of the amount or quality of the labour he has contributed towards the obtaining of that produce, a breach of equity is committed. Our first principle requires, not that all shall have like shares of the things which minister to the gratification of the faculties, but that all shall have like freedom to pursue those things—shall have like scope. It is one thing to give to each an opportunity of acquiring the objects he desires; it is another, and quite a different thing, to give the objects themselves, no matter whether due endeavour has or has not been made to obtain them. The one we have seen to be the primary law of the Divine scheme; the other, by interfering with the ordained connection between desire and gratification, shows its disagreement with that scheme. Nay, more, it necessitates an absolute violation of the principle of equal freedom. For when we assert the entire liberty of each, bounded only by the like liberty of all, we assert that each is free to do whatever his desires dictate, within the prescribed limits—that each is free, therefore, to claim for himself all those gratifications, and sources of gratification, attainable by him within those limits—all those gratifications, and sources of gratification which he can procure without trespassing upon the spheres of action of his neighbours. If, therefore, out of many starting with like fields of activity, one obtains, by his greater strength, greater ingenuity, or greater application, more gratifications and sources of gratification than the rest, and does this without in any way trenching upon the equal freedom of the rest, the moral law assigns him an exclusive right to all those extra gratifications and sources of gratification; nor can the rest take them from him without claiming for themselves greater liberty of action than he claims, and thereby violating that law. Whence it follows, that an equal apportionment of the fruits of the earth amongst all, is not consistent with pure justice.

"It, on the other hand, each is to have allotted to him a share of produce proportionate to the degree in which he has aided production, the proposal, whilst it is abstractly just, is no longer practicable. Were all men cultivators of the soil, it would perhaps be possible to form an approximate estimate of their several claims. But to ascertain the respective amounts of help given by different kinds of mental and bodily labourers, towards procuring the general stock of the necessities of life, is an utter impossibility. We have no means of making such a division, save that afforded by the law of supply and demand, and this means the hypothesis excludes.\*

Inasmuch as the desire for property is an original instinct, according to Mr. Spencer, the right of property follows as a corollary:—

"An argument fatal to the Communist theory, is suggested by the fact, that a desire for property is one of the elements of our nature. Repeated allusion has been

\* These inferences do not at all militate against joint-stock systems of production and living, which are, in all probability, what Socialism prophesies.

made to the admitted truth, that acquisitiveness is an unreasoning impulse quite distinct from the desires whose gratifications property secures—an impulse that is often obeyed at the expense of those desires. And if a propensity to personal acquisition be really a component of man's constitution, then that cannot be a right form of society which affords it no scope. . . . It may be quite true that its dictates have been, and still are, followed to an absurd excess; but it is also true that no change in the state of society will alter its nature and its office. To whatever extent moderated, it must still be a desire for personal acquisition. Whence it follows that a system affording opportunity for its exercise must ever be retained; which means, that the system of private property must be retained; and this presupposes a right of private property, for by right we mean that which harmonizes with the human constitution as divinely ordained."

In the next chapter he expounds the right to property in ideas. If man has a right to produce of his hands it is quite clear that he has an equal right to the produce of his brain. Mr. Spencer's chapter is worth consulting by all who agitate questions of patent and copyright. Right of property in character is then shown to be referrible to the same principles; as also the right of exchange and the right of free speech; but when he touches upon the right of women and children—as he does in the two succeeding chapters—his stern logic leads him to conclusions which will be all the more exasperating because they are overwhelming: next to the "anarchical" tendency of his chapter on Property in Land, the "shocking notions" set forth in these chapters will most excite the wrath of "common sense." Imagine the reception to be given to the doctrine that equity knows no difference of sex! Mr. Spencer says that the notion of women's rights not being equal to those of men, is an evanescent form of the theory that women have no souls;—he says, moreover, that the action of "obedience" as necessary on the part of women, is only a remnant of the belief in the necessity of slavery:—

"All the barbarisms of the past have their types in the present. All the barbarisms of the past grew out of certain dispositions: those dispositions may be weakened, but they are not extinct; and so long as they exist there must be manifestations of them. What we commonly understand by command and obedience, are the modern forms of bygone despotism and slavery. Philosophically considered they are identical with these. Despotism may be defined as the making of another's will bend to the fulfilment of our own; and its counterpart—slavery—as the having our own will subordinated to the will of another. True, we apply the terms only when the rule of one will over another is extreme—when the one wholly, or almost wholly extinguishes the other. But if the subjection of man to man is bad when carried to its full extent, it is bad in any degree. If every man has freedom to exercise his faculties within specified limits; and if, as we have seen (Chap. VIII.), slavery is wrong because it transgresses that freedom, and makes one man use his powers to satisfy not his own wants, but the wants of another; then, whatsoever involves command, or whatsoever implies obedience, is wrong also; seeing that it, too, necessitates the subordination of one man's actions to the gratifications of another. You must do not as you will, but as I will," is the basis of every mandate, whether used by a planter to his negro, or by a husband to his wife. Not satisfied with being sole ruler over his own doings, the petty autocrat oversteps the boundary dividing his sphere of action from his neighbour's, and takes upon himself to direct his or her doings also. It matters not, in point of principle, whether such domination is entire or partial. To whatever extent the will of the one is overborne by the will of the other, to that extent the parties are tyrant and slave.

"There are, without doubt, many who will rebel against this doctrine. There are many who hold that the obedience of one human being to another is proper, virtuous, praiseworthy. There are many to whose moral sense command is not repugnant. There are many who think the subjection of the weaker sex to the stronger legitimate and beneficial. Let them not be deceived. Let them remember that a nation's institutions and beliefs are determined by its character. Let them remember that men's perceptions are warped by their passions. Let them remember that our social state proves our superior feelings to be very imperfectly developed. And let them remember that, as many customs deemed right by our ancestors appear detestable to us, so, many customs which we think proper, our more civilized descendants may regard with aversion—even as we loathe those barbarian manners which forbid a woman to sit at table with her lord and master, so may mankind one day loathe that subordination of wife to husband which existing laws enjoin."

Mr. Spencer demolishes parental despotism as completely as marital despotism; he not only condemns it on grounds of equity, but shows how the progress of civilization has tended to abolish it:—

"Those commonly observed facts, that the enslavement of woman is invariably associated with a low type of social life, and that conversely, her elevation towards an equality with man uniformly accompanies progress, were cited in part proof that the subjection of female to male is essentially wrong. If now, instead of women we read children, similar facts may be cited, and a similar deduction may be drawn. If it be true that the dominion

of man over woman has been oppressive in proportion to the baseness of the age or the people, it is also true that parental authority has been stringent and unlimited in a like proportion. It is a fact that the emancipation of women has kept pace with the emancipation of society, it is likewise a fact that the once despotic rule of the old over the young has been ameliorated at the same rate. And if, in our own day, we find the fast-spreading recognition of popular rights accompanied by a silently-growing perception of the rights of women, we also find it accompanied by a tendency towards systems of non-coercive education—that is, towards a practical admission of the rights of children."

The following telling remarks should be treasured up in families and nurseries:—

"Education has for its object the formation of character. To curb restive propensities, to awaken dormant sentiments, to strengthen the perceptions, and cultivate the tastes, to encourage this feeling and repress that, so as finally to develop the child into a man of well proportioned and harmonious nature—this is alike the aim of parent and teacher. Those, therefore, who advocate the use of authority, and, if need be—force in the management of children, must do so because they think these the best means of compassing the desired object—formation of character. Paternity has to devise some kind of rule for the nursery. Impelled partly by creed, partly by custom, partly by inclination, paternity decides in favour of a pure despotism, proclaims its word the supreme law, anathematizes disobedience, and exhibits the rod as the final arbiter in all disputes. And of course this system of discipline is defended as the one best calculated to curb restive propensities, awaken dormant sentiments, &c. &c., as aforesaid. Suppose, now, we inquire how the plan works. An unamiable little urchin is pursuing his own gratification, regardless of the comfort of others—is perhaps annoyingly vociferous in his play: or is amusing himself by teasing a companion; or is trying to monopolize the toys intended for others in common with himself. Well; some kind of interposition is manifestly called for. Paternity with knit brows, and in a severe tone, commands desistance—visits anything like reluctant submission with a sharp 'Do as I bid you'—if need be, hints at a whipping or the black hole—in short, carries coercion, or the threats of coercion, far enough to produce obedience. After sundry exhibitions of perverse feeling, the child gives in, showing, however, by its sullenness the animosity it entertains. Meanwhile paternity pokes the fire and complacently resumes the newspaper, under the impression that all is as it should be: most unfortunate mistake!"

"If the thing wanted had been the mere repression of noise, or the mechanical transfer of a plaything, perhaps no better course could have been pursued. Had it been of no consequence under what impulse the child acted, so long as it fulfilled a given mandate, nothing would remain to be said. But something else was needed. Character was the thing to be changed rather than conduct. It was not the deeds, but the feeling from which the deeds sprang that required dealing with. Here were palpable manifestations of selfishness—an indifference to the wishes of others, a marked desire to tyrannize, an endeavour to engross benefits intended for all—in short, here were exhibitions on a small scale of that unsympathetic nature to which our social evils are mainly attributable. What, then, was the thing wanted? Evidently an alteration in the child's disposition. What was the problem to be solved? Clearly to generate a state of mind which, had it previously existed, would have prevented the offending actions. What was the final end to be achieved? Unquestionably the formation of a character which should spontaneously produce greater generosity of conduct. Or, speaking definitely, it was necessary to strengthen that sympathy to the weakness of which this behaviour was traceable."

Mr. Spencer pertinently refers to the change which has taken place in the treatment of lunatics, whom it was formerly thought necessary to coerce, and he asks, if madmen are better managed by suasion than by violence, why cannot children be so? But the fact is, coercion is the easier plan, or seems so, and best suits the imperfect moral nature of the parents:—

#### NOISY BRATS AND TENDER PARENTS.

"It would astonish them to assert that they behave as improperly to their children as their children do to them. Yet a little candid self-analysis would show them that half their commands are issued more for their own convenience or gratification than for corrective purposes. 'I won't have that noise!' exclaims a disturbed father to some group of vociferous juveniles: and the noise ceasing he claims to have done something towards making his family orderly. Perhaps he has; but how? By exhibiting that same evil disposition which he seeks to check in his children—a determination to sacrifice to his own happiness the happiness of others. Observe, too, the impulse under which a refractory child is punished. Instead of anxiety for the delinquent's welfare, that severe eye and compressed lip denote rather the ire of an offended ruler—express some such inward thought as 'You little wretch, we'll soon see who is to be master.' Uncover its roots, and the theory of parental authority will be found to grow not out of man's love for his offspring but out of his love of dominion. Let any one who doubts this listen to that common reprimand, 'How dare you disobey me?' and then consider what the emphasis means. No, no, moral-force education is widely practicable even now, if parents were civilized enough to use it."

This subject of education is so important and is treated in so masterly a manner by our author that we are loath to leave it, and must find space for the following profound remarks:—

#### WHY IS EDUCATION NECESSARY?

"But why is education needed at all? Why does not the child grow spontaneously into a normal human being? Why should it be requisite to curb this propensity, to stimulate the other sentiment, and thus by artificial aids to mould the mind into something different from what it would of itself become? Is not there here an anomaly in nature? Throughout the rest of creation we find the seed and the embryo attaining to perfect maturity without external aid. Drop an acorn into the ground, and it will in time become a healthy oak without either pruning or training. The insect passes through its several transformations unheeded, and arrives at its final form possessed of every needful capacity and instinct. No coercion is needed to make the young bird or quadruped adopt the habits proper to its future life. Its character like its body, spontaneously assumes complete fitness for the part it has to play in the world. How happens it, then, that the human mind alone tends to develop itself wrongly? Must there not be some exceptional cause for this? Manifestly; and if so, a true theory of education must recognize this cause."

"It is an indisputable fact that the moral constitution which fitted man for his original predatory state, differs from the one needed to fit him for this social state to which multiplication of the race has led him. In a foregoing part of our inquiry, it was shown that the law of adaptation is effecting a transition from the one constitution to the other. Living then, as we do, in the midst of this transition, we must expect to find sundry phenomena which are applicable only upon the hypothesis that humanity is at present partially adapted to both these states, and not completely to either—has only in a degree lost the dispositions needed for savage life, and has but imperfectly acquired those needed for social life. The anomaly just specified is one of these. The tendency of each new generation to develop itself wrongly, indicates the degree of modification that has yet to take place. Those respects in which a child requires restraint, are just the respects in which he is taking after the aboriginal man. The selfish squabbles of the nursery, the persecution of the play-ground, the lying and petty thefts, the rough treatment of inferior creatures, the propensity to destroy—all these imply that tendency to pursue gratification at the expense of other beings, which qualified man for the wilderness, and which disqualifies him for civilized life."

"We have seen, however, that this incongruity between man's attributes and his conditions is in course of being remedied. We have seen that the instincts of the savage must die of inanition—that the sentiments called forth by the social state must grow by exercise, and that if the laws of life remain constant, this modification will continue until our desires are brought into perfect conformity with our circumstances. When now that ultimate state in which morality shall have become organic is arrived at, this anomaly in the development of the child's character will have disappeared. The young human being will no longer be an exception in nature—will not as now tend to grow into unfitness for the requirements of after-life; but will spontaneously unfold itself into that ideal manhood whose every impulse coincides with the dictates of the moral law."

We shall return to this volume.

#### BOOKS ON OUR TABLE.

*Reasons for Co-operation.* A Lecture delivered at the Office for Promoting Working Men's Associations. To which is added, *God and Mammon*; a Sermon to Young Men. By F. D. Maurice, M.A., Chaplain of Lincoln's-inn.

The Reverend Frederick Maurice is one of the original promoters of the Working Men's Associations and founders of the sect called "Christian Socialists," to which we and all other Socialists owe a double debt of gratitude—firstly, because they aid us powerfully in the elevation of Socialism into a question of serious discussion, by raising it out of the region of terror, and giving it that "respectability" which questions must assume in England before they can be brought before influential men (we all remember the time when to be a "Radical" was as bad as to be a Socialist in 1849)—and, although we protest against the superstition of Church of Englandism upon the natural growth of Socialism, which is the aim of the Christian Socialists, we must all admit that the union gives respectability, while the open avowal of Socialism, on the part of men like Maurice, Kingsley, Ludlow, &c., is an accession of strength to the cause. Secondly, they have not contented themselves with mere theories: they have to their utmost reduced theory to fact! They have their journal (*The Christian Socialist*) and their *Tracts* for propaganda—they have the Associations for experiments. Perhaps no sect now in England better deserves a patient study. Perhaps no set of men should claim from official writers a more deliberate and impartial inquiry. Yet the *Edinburgh Review*, in an article devoted to them and their theories, puts forth statements the reverse of the truth, accusing them of holding the very opinions they assail! It is for the purpose of furnishing the public with real data on this subject that the present brochure is published.

*The Literature of Working Men, being Supplementary Numbers of the Working Man's Friend.* Cassell, Strand. Several opinions upon this work are prefixed to it, but they are partly from persons who cannot be regarded as literary authorities, and partly from persons who avoid pronouncing a literary judgment. These critics are public men, whose opinions appear to have been sought, and we see no reason to disturb the negative kind of testimony they bear. The volume is composed of numerous essays written by working men under the stimulus of prizes and publicity. Many are upon theological subjects, but these are all upon one side. A few papers contain class-knowledge, and these are worth looking into; but the others indicate rather the want than the acquirements of working men. Those who write history

give no authorities, and those who profess to combat opinions, chiefly combat rumours. It could do no good to working men to persuade them that these are contributions to our literature, or additions to our knowledge. Mr. Cassell has merit in creating a medium for so much writing, which is undoubtedly a useful and indispensable discipline for the writers. The attempt to express ideas always sends in sure improvement. As a book of *Exercises*, showing industry, activity, and aspiration, this volume of papers has value, and this is its chief merit. It might be said that some of these papers are written better than some lords would write them, but this ought to be poor satisfaction to working men unless lords always wrote well.

*The Comedies, Histories, and Poems of William Shakespeare.*  
Edited by Charles Knight. (The National Edition.) Comedies.  
Vol. I.

*Italy in 1848.* By L. Mariotti. Chapman and Hall.  
*William Penn. An Historical Biography.* With an Extra Chapter  
on the "Macaulay Charges." By William Howorth Dixon.  
Chapman and Hall.

*Local Self-government and Centralization; the Characteristics of each; and its Practical Tendencies affecting Social, Moral, and Political Welfare and Progress. Including Comprehensive Outline of the English Constitution. With Copious Index.* By J. Toumlin Smith, Esq. J. Chapman.

*The Creed of Christendom; its Foundation and Superstructure.*  
By William Bathstone Greg. J. Chapman.

*The British Church in Relation to the British People.* By Edward Millar.  
Hall, Virtue, and Co.

*General History of the Christian Religion and Church.* Translated from the German of Dr. Augustus Neander. By Joseph Torrey. New Edition, carefully revised. By the Reverend A. J. W. Morrison, M.A. (Bohn's Standard Library.) H. G. Bohn.

*The Iliad of Homer.* Literally Translated. With Explanatory Notes. By Theodore Alois Buckley, B.A. H. G. Bohn.

*Monk; or, the Fall of the Republic and the Restoration of the Monarchy in England in 1660.* By M. Guizot. Translated from the French, by Andrew R. Scobie. H. G. Bohn.

*Pen Pictures of Popular English Preachers; with Limnings of Listeners in Church and Chapel.* Partridge and Oakley.

*Life at the Water Cure; or, a Month at Malvern.* A Diary. By R. J. Lane, A.E.R.A. With *The Sequel and Confessions of a Water Patient.* By Sir E. Bulwer Lytton, Bart. G. H. Bohn.

*Voices of Freedom, and Lyrics of Love!* By T. Gerald Massey, Working Man. J. Watson.

*Insubordination; or, the Shoemaker's Daughters.* An American Story of Real Life. By T. S. Arthur. T. S. Hodson.

*Two Lectures on the 'Papal Aggression' Controversy.* By George Dawson, M.A. E. C. Osborne.

*Knight's Pictorial Shakespeare.* Part XI. (King Henry IV., Part 2.) C. Knight.

*Familiar Things; a Cyclopaedia of Entertaining Knowledge. Being Useful Information popularly arranged.* Nos. 2 and 3. Arthur Hall, Virtue, and Co.

SUBTLE INFLUENCES.—I met with a curious instance lately of a fact well known, but always instructive in regard to the force of our absorbing or receptive power. A friend's gardener, after taking a few pinches of flour of sulphur to sprinkle over a plant, and cleansing his hands immediately afterwards, found how subtle was its influence through the system, and out again from his body, and through his clothes, so that the money in his pocket, and other metal about him, became tarnished. What is there now more subtle and wonderful in mesmeric action than this? Here the system receives a general influence which, though unfelt by the individual, is potent in its effects. Other substances will produce similar effects. I know a case of a lady who could not touch the brass knobs of her doors for some weeks, from their producing pain, and partly paralyzing the arm; and of another lady who was differently affected by the approach of various metals, and other substances. Medicines rubbed on her skin would produce precisely the same effects as if she had swallowed them. I know a whole family who are disagreeably affected by the near approach of iron. Some are aware of the presence of a cat, by a sensation experienced without seeing the animal.—*Atkinson and Martineau's Letters on Man.*

M. CARRÉ.—*METAIRIE V. WISEMAN.*—Full often have we indulged in a hearty laugh when, in talking over old times with a chance schoolfellow, we have recalled the eccentricities of our French master. For a term of between four and five years we received his almost daily instruction, and tormented him with every variety of schoolboy tricks. His penurious habits and his contempt of women, whom he used to designate as "fly-traps," are as vivid in our memory as if we had partaken with him but yesterday. We knew him to be rich—we had frequent exemplifications of his parsimony. Often and often has he boasted that in the fruit season his dinner was a pint of damsons purchased for a penny. He once told us that when he went to a well-off pupil's house to sup, he had "a glorious tuck-out," and thus rendered breakfast unnecessary for the following morning. It was a tradition in the school that he had but one shirt, and that he was wont at stated times to wash it himself in the New River, and walk about the fields with it on a stick until it was dry. The last time we saw him, now above twenty years ago, he was dressed in a new suit of black, wore a gold chain, looked buckish, and said he was about to return to France, and live comfortably on the handsome fortune he had amassed. Gentility and ease, probably, did not suit him, for he returned to his occupation and his penury. It was impossible, in reason, to anticipate for him a peaceful end, but little did we dream that his dying hours would be disturbed by ghostly importunity, and that the property he had made himself miserable in collecting would be wrung from him at last by that church of which he was no more than a nominal member. That old French master was M. Mathurus Carré, respecting whose property a lawsuit is now pending between M. Metairie, a kinsman, we suppose, and Cardinal Wiseman.—*Nonconformist.*

## Portfolio.

We should do our utmost to encourage the Beautiful, for the Useful encourages itself.—*GOTTHE.*

### THE BUDS.

SPRING is here, though young and tender, and still staggering with gusts of parting March. The autumnal fruit-trees are spreading forth their spring blossoms—most beautiful. "They toil not, neither do they spin"; yet, verily, the World's Exhibition shall not show handiwork like to these. True was that two thousand years ago; as true still.

Frail are these flowers and tender; yet is there a power which sends the gentle gems through the rugged winds with certitude unerring. States fall, Ministries hang suspended in uncertain fate, troubles come and prosperity, revolutions and restorations; but each year the almond blossoms smile upon the world. Institutions decay, "property" wastes; but the blossoms fail not, neither does their source grow lifeless. We repeat this truth from time immemorial: may we never forget it!

The rainbow was a hope, as these are—and for ever. Let us strive, with loving and trusting heart, to learn the laws by which, while evil and imperfection alone pass away, goodness and beauty are ever renewed; for, wherever we see those laws working, there is goodness. When we have learned to wish to obey, we shall forget to quarrel about creeds and aggressions; we shall cease to set class against class; we shall unlearn to covet only wealth, to build prisons for poverty, and to make either abodes or laws that, denying nature, erect foulnesses into institutions.

Yes, blessed be God! our plans pass away and cannot stand; but the model is for ever renewed to us, so long as the blossom hangs upon the bough. And yearly we cry out with joy at the sight; for the sound instinct, the immortal faith cannot die within us. But we are working, and ever is the sign lifted to our sight.

### SONNET.

#### IN A COUNTRY GARDEN.

Again aways round the porch the summer's green,  
The rose-trees, o'er-involved, nigh break with  
flower,  
And Shakespeare's whitened bust, in gorgeous  
bower,  
With sunny brows the trellis shines between.  
Might I but gaze, and dream that what has been  
Is still! might linger one enchanted hour,  
Knowing my Love, bright, fresh, as after shower  
The morn, will forth, may momently be seen.  
O God, she's dead! and three long years of woe  
Have not till now accomplished my despair!  
Here I can wait; but never, never so  
Will she come bounding blithely from the stair.  
No, were my watch the sun's, fix'd stars these eyes,  
Ne'er should I more that sweetest form surprise.

W. H.

### THE THEATRES.

Immanuel Kant, the great philosopher, who lived an extremely unimpassioned life in Königsberg, and who wrote various works of a light entertaining character, which I advise you to read when you have the toothache, proved to the satisfaction of all Germany that Space and Time had no absolute existence, but were merely forms of thought. It is perfectly clear to me that Kant was no journalist. Space and Time are formidable realities to the journalist, and this week they force me to give the most cursory indications of what, under other circumstances, would require three columns. Merely to keep you *accourant* I will note first that J. W. Wallack maintains by his Macbeth the position he gained by his Othello (next week I will go into details); secondly, that the new melodrama at the Princess's Theatre, *Pauline*, turns out to be a French piece of horror skilfully moved, and is thoroughly to the liking of the audience; thirdly, that *Charles King* is a pleasant little comedy at the Olympic, the success assured by Leigh Murray and Mrs. Stirling; fourthly, that Drury-lane has produced a neat little one act trifle by Charles Dance, *A Morning Call*, which rests upon Mr. Anderson and Mrs. Nisbett; fifthly, that the *Opera*—delightful sound!—is to open to night, with Caroline Duprez as Lucia.

VIVIAN.

RIGHTS OF INDUSTRY.—Yes! that is the phrase which, for the first time in the world's history, has begun not only to claim, but compel attention. And it is a great step even to get the fact acknowledged, that industry has any rights. Rights admitted, the great point of inquiry is, as to what they are.—*Hole's Social Science.*

## European Democracy.

We resume our illustrations of "European Democracy" after an unavoidable delay.

The address of the "European Central Democratic Committee" to the patriots of Lombardo-Veneta and of Vienna, which we give, is significative of the sense which recent events have impressed upon the minds of all liberal men in Europe, that the cause of liberty is everywhere the same, so that a close union of the oppressed peoples of the Continent is necessary, as it will be undoubtedly sufficient, to effect their common emancipation.

The title which we have hitherto employed in these columns has proved somewhat too restrictive. We have reason to believe that it will be more satisfactory to our readers that we should endeavour to illustrate and explain European Democracy without confining ourselves to the irregular opportunities furnished by what may be strictly designated as "official acts."

In accordance with this greater latitude in the treatment of our subject we shall give next week a memoir of the late General Bem, par excellence the soldier of Democracy. It will be found, we believe, at once the completest and the most accurate which has yet appeared in the press of this country.

### THE CENTRAL EUROPEAN DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE

#### TO THE PATRIOTS OF VENICE AND LOMBARDY AND OF VIENNA.

BROTHERS,—In this month, three years ago, you accomplished great and noble things.

You, men of the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, proved your title to life and liberty. You resuscitated your glorious traditions of the twelfth century. Without organization, without chiefs, and almost without arms, you engaged in five great battles with the foreign army encamped in your plains. You chose to initiate the struggle the very day in which imperial concessions endeavoured to stifle your effort. You have been strong in combat, generous in victory. Glory to you, to your improvised soldiery, to your exiles, to your martyrs! Your five days have reconquered for you a country; come what may, that country will yet exist.

And you, Viennese! You have proved to Europe that no despotism exists sufficiently corrupting and enervating to destroy the human soul and its eternal protestation in favour of progress. You have raised the banner of democratic liberty in the very stronghold of temporal authority. Awakening from your slumber of ages, you have in one bound almost attained the goal, and proclaimed that the Empire is to the People. Glory also to you, to your academic legion, to your working men! Through you Vienna has reentered the crusade of European progress, from which the House of Hapsburg kept her excluded.

Men of Milan and of Vienna! your insurrections have failed; but they have given the programme of the revolution to come. Let the fruit of your movements be ripened in exile, in prisons, in the midst of a slavery which, we feel now, is only the slavery of a day. Bind still closer the alliance between you; grasp each other loyalty by the hand—you can without weakness, for you have both been brave. Prepare yourselves; this is but the night vigil of your arms. The fourth anniversary of your movements must find you at your posts, conquerors again and for ever.

Then, instructed by the past, you will remember, that henceforth every revolution is but an *émeute*, if it is not an European revolution. You will repulse as a crime every dynastic idea, all thought of aggrandizement, all tendency to isolation or usurpation, which might endeavour to substitute itself for the sacred idea—*All nations for all Humanity*. You will have but one strength—the People; but one method—the logical deduction of all the consequences of your principles; but one end—association in liberty; but one guide—genius and virtue manifesting themselves in love; but one religion—human solidarity in progress.

Children of two races too long hostile to one another, you will rise as brothers; you will conquer as brothers. Together you will accomplish a mission great as the world, and which requires your united strengths. You will efface from Europe this tyranny which divides itself in two, one seizing upon the body, the other on the soul. To you Italians, the Pope; to you Viennese, the Emperor!

For the Central European Democratic Committee,  
LEDRU ROLLIN, J. MAZZINI,  
A. DARASZ, A. RUGE.

London, March, 1851.

A HOME THRUST TO THE CLERGY.—Let any churchman of average capacity and candour read this so-called Athanasian Creed, with the first five articles of our Thirty-nine, and then ask himself, in the depths of a still heart, whether he dare, on his death-bed, give the full assent and consent of all his soul and all his mind to the metaphysical and malevolent matter therein contained, sealing his profession with a solemn "So help me, God!" If he feel that he dare not cross the dark barrier of the grave with such a recent declaration weighing on the wings of his spirit, then has he himself answered the question we are debating, as to whether our formularies should undergo modification, or whether the religious requirements of the nineteenth century can be satisfied with the measure meted to the sixteenth.—From the *Reverend T. Wilson's Catholicity Spiritual and Intellectual*.

## Progress of the People.

### POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORM.

A public meeting, called by the National Reform League, was held on Wednesday evening, March 12, in the Eclectic Institute, Denmark-street, to take into consideration the course to be adopted by the unenfranchised classes in the present state of parties. Mr. Pettigrew took the chair.

Mr. Lemo, a working printer, in a forcible speech, moved the first resolution, to the effect that, "while we are struggling for the People's Charter, it is incumbent on every leader of the people to instruct them in their social rights."

Mr. Wilson ably supported the resolution, which was carried nem. con.

Mr. S. Oram said :

"The resolution passed proclaims the necessity for understanding social rights as the only means of deriving advantages from the Charter. The Charter is well understood and ardently desired, and from its being a dead letter it is advocated freely, showing that it has progress even amongst middle-class men, and whenever it has been alluded to at public meetings hailed with enthusiasm; and I cannot help here remarking that if the questions on social rights were really discussed in the logical and inoffensive manner which the important subject of religion has been of late by one whose name deserves honourable mention for the service he has rendered in removing much of the prejudice against public free discussion of religious topics, and who has so perseveringly and ably maintained his ground on that almost universally taboo'd question, we might more successfully influence the middle classes to hear our reasons and become brother labourers in the good cause. I allude to Mr. Holyoake, whose firm and temperate promulgation of his opinions awakens a regret in my mind that he does not appear to perceive the paramount necessity for taking up our social rights in detail. Until the evils resulting from the present monetary system are fully comprehended, depend upon it there can be no salvation; and the plunder of five-sixths of all the products of labour from the producers must continue, entailing ignorance, misery, and crime, thereby giving an apparent necessity for the evil of religious interference to stem the torrent which springs alone from the existence of profit-mongering and usury. The producers, the workers, are not apathetic as to the progress of the Charter, but I believe they are quite convinced that the mere possession of political power alone, even the Charter and all its securities, would not insure their extrication from the evils which afflict society, unless accompanied by certain social rights, which ought to be made plain to their apprehension by their leaders. This League proposes, in its seven propositions, clear, defined, and known practicable means, through peace, law, and order, to effect those changes in the condition of society which are inevitable, sooner or later. Firstly, it asks for an efficient poor law in order to shelter and feed those who need support. We believe, however, such a law would be unrequired in a wholesome state of society. I do not think the middle classes could resist the evidence which sustains the seven propositions. Could they be made to understand them, they would see that no other set of reformers go so far as to admit the justice of permitting all present property to be held by its present owners, or paid for if required, which this League does; and, in fact, this is the only hope the possessors of property can be assured of, that they would be guaranteed the safety of all they possess, as we repudiate all confiscation of present holders as unjust. Even the middle classes feel the influence of the increasing tendency of our system to reconstruct monopolies and exclusivisms, and complain of the hardship. The monopolies of the Church, the law, physic, the army and navy, can only be entered through one door. The farmers see clear enough the mere want they pay is not the cause of the depression of prices; they have got over the incubus of squinarchy, and begin to inquire into more social laws than of landlord and tenant; and depend on it well-fed honest men will not be far from our cause when their eyes are fully enlightened as to real free trade and social truths. It is, therefore, incumbent on the League to maintain its ground, not because they may think that they alone possess a knowledge of all social truths, but because as yet no other body of reformers, in my opinion, so clearly define the causes of society's evil, or produce any plan for its abolition equally consistent and efficacious. I, therefore,

"That the political and social reforms advocated by the National Reform League merit the support of the people, because, in addition to the 'Charter,' they provide an efficient and non-degrading poor-law, giving comfortable subsistence or reproductively employment to all applicants, and protecting the labourer from the tyranny or avarice of employers; an adjustment of the system of public and private indebtedness to meet the fall of prices consequent upon a non-reciprocal and partial free trade, and the increased value given to money by the unfair legislation of Sir Robert Peel; these measures to prepare the way for the gradual nationalization of the land of Great Britain and its dependencies, giving compensation to existing holders; a sound system of national credit for the full development of the industrial resources of the country; a national currency based on the credit of the state, and not on the variable amount of scarce metals; and the establishment of public bazaars for the interchange of all kinds of useful wealth or service, independent of the present system of shopkeeping."

Mr. Rogers spoke in support of the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

The Executive Committee of the National Charter Association met on Wednesday evening. Present—Messrs. Arnott, Grassby, Hunt, Jones, and Milne. Messrs. Harney, Holyoake, O'Connor, and Reynolds

were absent through unavoidable engagements. James Grassby presided. Correspondence was read from Barnsley, Blyth, Brechin, Darlington, Devonport, Edinburgh, Greenwich, Landport, Pilkington, and Ratcliffe Bridge, remitting cash; also from Aberdeen, Bingley, Deptford, Glasgow, Hastings, Kirk Burton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the Tower Hamlets, on general business. Ernest Jones then read a copy of the statement he had drawn up and forwarded to Sir George Grey, relative to the case of the exiled patriot William Cuffey, which was unanimously approved of. Ernest Jones reported that the sub-committee appointed at the last meeting had met and proceeded with the business entrusted to them, and trusted that they would be able to submit the result of their labours at the next meeting of the Executive. On the motion of Messrs. Jones and Arnott, an address was unanimously adopted, which we regret not to be able to give this week.

**PUBLIC MEETING AT JOHN-STREET.**—On Tuesday evening the public meeting was held convened by the Chartist Executive; Mr. Delafield presided. Mr. Holyoake moved :

"That, considering the fluctuation of parties which this country now witnesses, in which a part of the people is neither heard nor appears to exist, this meeting is of opinion that the Democratic party have grave reasons for earnestness and activity."

Mr. Holyoake's speech was a brief development of the nature and conditions of organization, with a view to show what had to be done before a party of the people would be created. Declamation upon their present helpless condition he argued might be spared, until the means were at command for placing a popular movement above the fluctuations of accident. Mr. Beatty seconded the motion. Mr. D' O'Connor made some striking remarks on the part of the working classes. Mr. Fettie, Mr. Rogers, and Mr. Finlen, addressed the meeting, and Mr. Holyoake replied on the part of the Executive.

**INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION TRACTS.**—The Committee of Mr. Owen's friends have issued a second address (too long to quote in full), from which we take these passages :—

"The prompt and cordial response to our former address demonstrates that the friends of the great Social Reformer of the age are fully alive to the opportunity of disseminating their sentiments amongst the foreigners who may be brought together during the Exhibition of May next."

"All parties seem to be impressed with the conviction that seed would be sown that might bring forth fruit in every nation."

"At no period in the history of mankind was it more imperative that truth alone should be spoken. The whispers of compromise or the blandishments of policy are unworthy of the memorable occasion. When the destinies of empires may be effected, and the freedom and happiness of the whole world, perhaps, advanced, it is a crime for those who think they have the truth to withhold it, or to trim it to suit party interests or party prejudices."

"The Central Committee of Social Propaganda, therefore, wish it to be understood, that in the various tracts and publications they contemplate issuing during the Exhibition, Socialism will be developed in a sincere and charitable spirit. It will be their object to show to the world that Socialism is a science rather than a creed, and therefore to attach to it any sectarian appellation is as absurd and ill-advised as to speak of Christian mathematics, Mahometan chemistry, or Infidel anatomy."

"We urge the formation of committees in every town and village in the kingdom, to raise subscriptions in support of this movement. Do not sleep while the world is awake and at your doors. Every pound subscribed may contribute to the salvation of a people. With such aims before us, assist generously and promptly, in this bloodless crusade against poverty, crime, slavery, and oppression. Let every man be able to say—The triumphs of '93 were part of my work!"

The Central Committee sat every Wednesday evening at 52, College-place, Camden-town, London, to which address all communications from friends or local committees must be sent. Money orders to be made payable at the Tottenham-court-road Post-office.—Robert Cooper, Chairman; John Kenny, Treasurer; Henry Allsop Ivory, Secretary.

**CO-OPERATIVE CONFERENCE.**—A preliminary meeting of friends of the co-operative cause was held in Heywood, on Sunday, March 16, at which members were present from seventeen co-operative societies in the neighbourhood. The following resolutions were passed, and recommended to the consideration of co-operative societies :—

"1. That a general meeting of delegates from the various co-operative societies be called for Good Friday.

"2. That the meeting of delegates be held at Bury.

"3. That each co-operative society shall send delegates in proportion to its number of members in the following manner, viz., for every society having above 12 members and under 12 one delegate, 12 members two delegates, and for every 100 members above 12 one delegate.

"4. That no society limiting its members under 100 be allowed to send a delegate.

"5. That a committee for arranging the business of the Conference be chosen out of the members of the Heywood Industrial Co-operative Store Company, to whom all suggestions and propositions for the said Conference be sent addressed to Mr. Wm. Bell.

"6. That the following newspapers be furnished with a report of the resolutions :—*Northern Star*, *Leader*, *Christian Socialist*, *Working Man's Friend*, *Manchester Spectator*, *National Instructor*, and *Friend of the People*."

—ISAAC HOYLE, Chairman.

**REDEMPTION SOCIETY.**—Dr. Lees has been at Manchester, and has done much good. A proposition comes from Manchester requesting the society to locate Dr. Lees in the community, whence he might, from time to time, go out on propagandist missions to the country. We should like first to see there a printing press, so that we might avail ourselves of the literary talents of our friends; but these things require capital. We have not yet raised the starting sum of £200. Moneys received for the week ending the 16th of March :—Leeds, £1 9s. 2d.; Burnley, per Mr. Huttley, 14s. 2d.; Huddersfield, per Mr. D. France, 10s. Communal Building Fund: Burnley, per Mr. Huttley, 2s. 6d.

**MANCHESTER.**—On the 9th and 10th instant, Dr. Lees, editor of the *Truth-Seeker*, delivered two lectures in the Social Institution, on Social Co-operation as necessary to realize practical Christianity, and on the Objects and Principles of the "Leeds Redemption Society." The audiences were good and attentive, and a salutary impression appeared to be made.

**HYDE, CHESHIRE.**—On the 12th and 13th instant, Dr. Lees, of Leeds, gave two addresses, in the Temperance-room on the Wrongs of Labour and their Remedy, with especial reference to the Redemption Society. The numerous auditory warmly expressed their approbation, and the friends of the association were encouraged in their labours.

**CO-OPERATION IN PADHAM.**—The following are extracts from the letter of a shareholder to the editor of the *Guardian* :—"Sir,—The respectable classes of this parish have had their laughing propensities well employed for some weeks back, by the establishment of a co-operative building for spinning, carding, weaving, &c. At Padham, working men are foolish enough to think that they can work for themselves as well as others; and believe that they and their wives and children can and ought to wear the clothes they weave, as well as others. Accordingly, a number of working men met, some weeks back, and agreed to issue an address to their brother working men, and invite their hearty cooperation in carrying the foregoing project into a practical working state. The address was issued to the public, and met with a hearty response. At the first meeting the place employed for the purpose was found to be too small to accommodate all who wanted either information or shares. Seventy-seven shares, at £25 each, have already been taken up; the society is just five weeks old; the building is commenced; part of the foundation is already in; the building is thirty yards long, seventeen yards wide, with three good rooms capable of being turned to spinning, carding, &c. There is also land to erect a shed for power-looms at a small cost. Mr. Watson, a corn miller, very kindly agreed to let off the water that supplies his mill, and let the co-operation people have the sand at the bottom. At three o'clock I took a walk, and was utterly astonished at the vast multitude that were stripped and working hard, and, above all, cheerfully, at the work of excavation.—A SHAREHOLDER.—Padham, March 11, 1851."

**BINGLEY—MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT.**—A society of this kind has recently been established in Bingley by a number of young men, who have engaged a room for three nights a week: two hours each night for reading, writing, and arithmetic; one hour each night for discussion. The chief discourses are on temperance, co-operation, and politics. Members already entered are near fifty.—W. W.

### WORKING ASSOCIATIONS OF PARIS.

#### L'ASSOCIATION FRATERNELLE DES TAILLEURS.

The Fraternal Association of Tailors, Rue du Faubourg St. Denis, 23, is the first-born of Louis Blanc's progeny. Entering an omnibus on the Boulevard des Italiens I descended at the Porte St. Denis, and proceeded up the left hand side of the Rue du Faubourg St. Denis for about fifty or a hundred yards, when I saw before me, on the doorpost of a large gateway, the well-known emblem of equality—a mason's level—and the words *Association Fraternelle* conspicuous on a white board, above which was another board, with a similar emblem. Here I entered, and, having passed through a broad and clean passage, with the porter's lodge on one side, I found myself in an open court, surrounded by a good, substantial, and rather new building. In front of me, on the first floor, I saw, in large letters, the words, "Association des Tailleurs," on the left, "Ateliers," and on the right, "Magasins." On the ground floor, on my right, were the Associated Cooks' dining-rooms, and in one corner of the court a number of poor men and women were standing drinking soup out of tin basins, the charitable offering of the poor to the poor. I passed on through the principal door to a spacious staircase, which led to the tailors' establishment, consisting of three large rooms, and a small one over the entrance door termed the Bureau d'Administration, ornamented with portraits of Louis Blanc, Barbès, and other Socialist leaders. I opened the door on my left, and entered a splendid room about 50 feet long by 20 feet broad, and 12 to 18 feet high, floored with oak, and lighted by one window that occupies nearly the whole breadth of the room; near it was a handsome counter and a large stock of ready-made clothes, at the other end was the cashier's desk. From this room I passed into a still larger apartment, about 25 yards long by 5 yards broad, one end of which is partitioned off with drapery, and elegantly furnished as an attire room, with round mahogany table, sofa, chairs, and a large mirror. The other portion of the room is fitted up with counters, tables, shelves for woollen goods, of which there was a large and varied stock, a desk for the bookkeeper, a magnificent ornamental stove, large enough to warm the whole room, and the other usual appurtenances of a warehouse. Citizen Bérard, the gérant (manager), soon entered, whose sagacity in business and unwearied activity for the interests of the society have caused him to be constantly selected as gérant, an office which requires great tact and firmness in governing, and considerable experience in commercial transactions. The gérant has had a wearisome task to perform in attending on lawyers, notaries, courts of law, and other places to obtain payment of 120,000f, owed them for an order they had executed at the command of the Pro-

visional Government. At last, 40,000f. were offered and accepted by them; but this was afterwards reduced to 25,000f., which, however, could not be obtained for several months afterwards, nor even then till the case had been twice tried in a court of law—delays well calculated to destroy the association. At last it was paid, but with a deduction of nearly half, to be paid over to former members of the society, who had since quitted it, many of whom had been only partially employed on the work in question, but were unfortunately the willing tools of the reactionary party. The result was that, instead of 120,000f., they did not receive much more than 10,000f.

Few associations have had more troubles to endure than this one; commencing without any capital, they had to make it by the work of their own hands; they received nothing from the Government grant; it was only by deducting a portion of their salary and submitting to every sacrifice that they were enabled to create a capital. For eighteen months on one occasion, none received more than two francs a-day; yet there was no complaint; all were ready to submit to any privation rather than the principle of association should suffer from their failure; they became poor that the association might become rich. By this means, they obtained in three months a capital of 70,000f., having commenced in March, 1848, with 1500 members, at the prison of Clichy, which was formed into a vast atelier for that purpose, and where they continued to progress under the protection and with the counsel of Louis Blanc, so long as he was in a position to give it them. There are now 3500 associated members, though only sixty are employed in the ateliers. The stock, cash in hand, and good debts, amount to about 50,000f.; against which they have liabilities to the amount of 15,000f., leaving a balance of 35,000f. (£1400) in their favour. They are doing a good trade, but during the three months from July to September or October business is very dull and the want of ready money is felt; they have consequently much to endure from want of this commodity, as they would otherwise be able to employ their hands during the slack season in manufacturing a stock of goods for the winter, and hire a shop in some advantageous situation for their exposition: this would place the association to command future prosperity. The government is entrusted to a *gérant* aided by a jury of five members, elected annually with other officers at the general assembly. Originally it was governed by a committee of fifteen directors, but this machinery was found too cumbersome and was altered in 1849, when new laws and regulations were drawn up and agreed to, at which time also the system of paying by the piece was introduced, as it had been found that an equality of wages was not only unjust but injurious to the establishment and produced much dissatisfaction, as might be expected with the present formed characters of most men.

The following is from Giland's little book on the associations:—

"Who is that youth," said I to the *gérant*, "with whom I was conversing just now? he appears animated with the noblest sentiments."

"He is our adopted child, citizen. He came from more than a hundred leagues to Paris to seek his brother and learn his trade with him. He found his brother in the hospital at the point of death, so that he was left in the streets of Paris destitute of everything. One of our party met with him and brought him here, we gave him food and shelter, and made him our apprentice, and we all subscribe a little for his support; nor have we had reason to regret our kindness, for we are well repaid by his industry and good conduct. He is now a member of the association; contented with his lot, correct in his behaviour, mild and affectionate towards his companions, and ever ready to do for others what we have done for him. We have become quite fond of him, and look upon him as our own child, and we hope one day to find him a wife, for he will never leave us, he knows too well how important it is for an association to have members who set an example of industry and good behaviour." And these are the men who are treated as the enemies of family, religion, and property! \* \* \*

"Do you always agree amongst yourselves?" said I to one of these men.

"Always, would be saying too much. All men are not saints, and sometimes altercations arise which lead to temporary disagreements; but when the interests of the association are concerned we know our duty too well to allow of anything like disorder in that case, and all ill-feelings and discord are forgotten."

In speaking of the several officers, Giland says truly:—

"They are modest and becoming in their manners, express themselves with ease and facility, and occasionally with much elegance of expression. They are the elect of their comrades, and do honour to the choice."

On my return to Paris a few weeks afterwards I revisited this happy family, and found them as usual engaged in their various departments, though from its not being the busy season their weekly salary was considerably diminished, yet they were still cheerful.

J. E. S.

#### EXPERIENCE OF AN EMIGRANT.

[Extract of a letter from an Emigrant (previously a working jeweller) in the United States.]

Dec. 2, 1850.

Our farm is five miles from Fort Atkinson (Jefferson

County, Wisconsin). It is only an eighty acre lot; but we can find quite enough work to do. There is just over fifty acres under plough. We have fourteen acres of marsh, or what you call meadow land, to grow our hay on. We bought the whole of this, and a log-house, and all the crops standing on it last July, for rather less than £200. We have harvested the crops and got it all threshed. We have 280 bushels of wheat, 400 of oats, and plenty of Indian corn, potatoes, and garden vegetables, and a yoke of cattle, two cows, four yearling steers, and a good pig. What furniture we wanted made up altogether £300.

So far as I can see we are thoroughly settled for life. We are high busy now ploughing before the winter sets in. We have some nine acres of winter wheat; it has all come up nicely; but it will take all we can raise for the first two or three years to improve our farm. We intend, if all goes right, to build a granary next year. You have to do all the building on your own lot in this country; but, from what I can see of the way in which they do it, there is not much difficulty about it. The country and climate suit us remarkably well. We were never better in all our lives. Father (between sixty and seventy) is not so stout as he was in England; he is a great deal heartier and stronger, and eats more at one meal here than he used to do in a whole day. He thinks nothing of walking to the Fort and back, a good ten miles; and what do you think of aunt (turned seventy) having walked, two Sundays following, to Whitewater and back to chapel. It is full eleven miles. She says she would rather do it than go with our own oxen and wagon.

There is a schoolhouse within a quarter of a mile of our house. They have preaching twice a-day on Sundays, and they meet in the evening to practise singing. I have been two or three Sunday evenings. From what I had heard in the old country, I was quite surprised to see so many good-looking Yankee girls. Some of them are tremendously smart. I saw plenty of black satin. If you were to see the congregation turn out at Whitewater or the Fort, you would not believe you were in the backwoods of America, but might fancy yourself in some large town in England. I have counted twenty pair of horses to as many ox-teams tied up to the trees round the chapels at Whitewater. It is a first-rate country for hired "helps," as they call the servant-girls here. They get a dollar (about 4s. Id.) a-week and their board. I think a dollar in this country goes as far, and is to all intents and purposes quite as good, as ten or twelve shillings in England. The "helps" are more like mistresses than servants; they do just as they like. Money is very scarce here. Most of the business is done here by trading. They take wheat or oats, or anything a farmer grows, at the stores in exchange for groceries or anything you want. We have not traded any of our produce yet, for it will fetch more in the spring, as the price is ruled by what they give at Millewankie, which is our market-town, only sixty miles from here. I have not been there yet, but shall have to take a load of wheat next spring. The only thing that can possibly hinder a man from doing well is drinking, which so many men indulge in. You might as well drink poison as drink their whisky. Some men expect to find their bread buttered on both sides and nothing to do but to eat it. Now this is all nonsense. If a man has from £200 to £300, he can buy a farm of one hundred acres and stock it with cattle and what furniture he will want. When you buy a farm here, the house and all that stands on the farm is included in the price. Of course a man can start with less, but then most of the farms round here are from 80 to 200 acres. The land is worth from 30s. to 60s. per acre, according to what improvements are done on it. If a man cannot pay the whole of the money down, they will let part stand on interest; but the lowest rate here for money is 7 per cent., and, in some cases, 50 percent. When a man has bought a farm, it will be very strange—if he works hard, which he must do—if he does not make enough to keep him comfortably; as the only thing you have to pay in the way of rates and taxes is, on our farm, not more than from 40s. to 60s.; it varies at times according to what they vote for road making, bridges, &c. One great comfort is, that all the money is voted by yourselves. You are a national yankee after you have been here a twelvemonth. Mind, a man need not be frightened at the work, although there is always something to do. Except at harvest time eight or nine hours a-day is all they ever work. Then we all find time to have a little shooting now and then. There is plenty of all sorts of game in this country, and we manage to get some pretty often. A man was met the other day who had been out shooting, and he had got three deer, but he had been out all the week. They think nothing here of going out in the winter time for two or three days.

There is not the worry and anxiety here there is in the old country; for, as I said before, if a man pays for his lot at starting, and works moderately hard, he must do well. Most of the men round here came ten years ago, when they got land for half the price of it now. Most of them tell me they had not much left when the land was paid for. Many had not enough to pay it all down at first; and although they have not made much money they have plenty of cattle. Many of them have built good farmhouses, barns, and granaries. But it all depends on a man's own exertions. Our two nearest neighbours both came into this country ten years ago, and were pretty much the same off in money. One of them still lives in the same log-house he did when he first came; the other has built a fine farmhouse, and has a good barn, and three times as many cattle. Living is cheap enough here. We have bought a quarter of an ox at 1d. a pound. Last week we bought a fine sheep for 7s., and yesterday I bought a sow and five pigs for 12s. Pork at this time of year is worth about 12s. per 100 lb. We get very good moist sugar for 4d. a pound; tea from 2s. to 4s. a pound. Clothes are a great deal dearer here than in England, and nothing like so good, but we have plenty of them.

They are all very kind and friendly to us about here.



#### Open Council.

[IN THIS DEPARTMENT, AS ALL OPINIONS, HOWEVER EXTREME, ARE ALLOWED AN EXPRESSION, THE EDITOR NECESSARILY HOLDS HIMSELF RESPONSIBLE FOR NONE.]

There is no learned man but will confess he hath much profited by reading controversies, his senses awakened, and his judgment sharpened. If, then, it be profitable for him to read, why should it not, at least, be tolerable for his adversary to write.—MILTON.

CONTRIBUTIONS on the subject of Miss Martineau's latest book continue to pour in; but we are obliged to suspend all commentary on that subject for a few days.

We have to thank our correspondents, in general, for their considerateness in the matter of length; but we must remind them that in proportion as the political world is moving, our space becomes pre-occupied.

#### TO THE BRITISH DEMOCRACY.

March 19, 1851.

SIR,—It is with pleasure that I again behold an effort being made to gather together the scattered elements of the British Democracy, under the guidance of men whom, I trust, have both the wisdom and political experience to conduct the proposed organization to a successful issue.

The programme of the new Chartist Executive seems to me a declaration of rights which all shades of Democracy might respond to. The Executive place a definite statement before the country as to what the people are called upon to unite for. This is an excellent commencement, and will carry with it influence.

The declaration in the programme, "that the land is the property of the whole nation," is, to my mind, the most important part of that document, and there never was a more favourable time than the present period to impress that idea upon the public. In advocating the Charter in all its integrity, the question of the nationalization of the land, and other points set forth in the programme, will form excellent subjects in teaching the people their social as well as their political rights. The future propaganda, from being more systematic, is sure to be more effectual than former agitations. By extending the movement to the slumbering districts of agriculture, the agitation will call to life the rural population, who may as yet be said to have no political existence. The neglect, or, at most, but partial attention to this was a great mistake upon the part of the former leaders of the people. In former agitations, the chief exertions of the Chartist body have been chiefly confined to the large towns; and even there without any other systematic mode of action than the mere issuing of bills announcing public meetings, at which seldom any other than Chartists themselves attended.

Now, I take it for granted that the great work to be accomplished is to teach those who are not yet converts to the creed of the Democracy the necessity of becoming so; but it is impossible to do this while the agitation is chiefly confined to the ranks of the Democracy itself. I am glad, however, to observe that the Executive seem to have an eye to this, with a view to make the agitation more general and systematic.

Let the Democracy set itself energetically to work to make converts of the majority of the people, and then the question as to how they can best attain their rights may be considered as settled. For this purpose the democratic and social schoolmaster must everywhere be sent abroad, and the young mind of this country besieged with instruction until convinced of the necessity of giving practical effect to the doctrines contained in the programme of the Executive.

Great care must be taken that the agricultural districts are not neglected. I have had occasion to travel through several of our most important agricultural counties during the past year, and I know well there exists a strong feeling against the present system of landlordism, which only requires to be directed into the proper channel.

ALFRED A. WALTON.

## THE SECRETARY OF KOSSUTH.

34, St. Peterburgh-place, Baywater, March 20, 1851.

Sir,—You have inserted in the last number of the *Leader* a letter of a certain Captain M. Domagalski against the proceedings of M. Diossy in Liverpool. The Polish captain seems to doubt that M. Diossy was secretary of Kossuth, and winds up the letter with the following words:—

"I cannot help adding that, whilst it is natural enough that the British Government, from mere financial motives perhaps, should endeavour to get rid of the exiles, we cannot understand what business a foreigner in this country, a Hungarian, can have to exert himself with the view of attaining the same object, unless he is in the agency of Austria or Prussia, or at least accidentally doing the work of these two despotic powers."

Now, Sir, I must state that M. Diossy really was the secretary of Kossuth, and that, by persuading the Hungarian refugees to go to the United States, he only would have acted in accordance with the instructions I received from Kossuth. But it needed no persuasion; the Hungarian refugees do not want to live on alms in England; they are happy if they can proceed to America, where all of them live by their own exertions.

As to the Poles, we do not meddle with their views; we only claim that they should not assume the name of Hungarians.—I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

FRANCIS PULSKY.

[We have inserted Mr. Pulsky's letter with pleasure, though we regret there should be any difference on the subject. It should be remembered, however, that Mr. Pulsky and Kossuth are *Hungarians*, not *Poles*. Can Mr. Pulsky tell us whether a report which has reached us is correct? It is, that Kossuth has declined to join the Democratic party of Europe, lest it should compromise some Hungarian relatives. If this is true, it might account for discrepancies.]

## THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF THE "LEADER."

March 19, 1851.

Sir,—In *Leader* No. 50, your correspondent, W.D.S., supposes H. B., your correspondent who writes in No. 49, to be "no exaggerated type of a large class who, having emancipated themselves, as they fancy, from the tyranny of dogmatism, can make no better use of their newly-acquired liberty than that of becoming dogmatizers themselves." As H. B. has written to you upon the "spread of Atheism," he will be regarded as an Atheist (although in his second letter, in No. 51, he writes as a theoretical Pantheist, though no Pantheist would, in other respects, write in the same way). I am concerned to show that every Atheist will not write as H. B. has done. So long as all the theological passages occurring in your *Leader* were written in opposition to Atheism, I saw no reason to trouble you with any remarks; but, when Atheism is ostensibly defended, we are involved in the defence put in, when it is pointed out to your readers as "typical of a large class," if not of all of us. My own silence has been owing to the circumstance that what has appeared against us, seemed to me founded upon a misunderstanding of Atheism, and therefore not likely to do harm to the instructed in these matters. Besides, we do not solicit controversy with the *Leader*, for the same reason that we have declined it with the *Christian Socialist*. With you, religion seems to be regarded as a sublime inducement to work for humanity; and I will do you the justice of saying that your practice is consistent with that conception, for never was religion so daring and so generous as it has manifested itself in the *Leader*. If it does not win the conviction of the Atheist, it certainly commands his respect. It is, therefore, that we will not combat with you, except special need of self-defence should compel us. When we want to do battle for our opinions, we will rather turn to those lower types of the Christian faith, which so widely abound, to those tenets which are unchangeable protests against freedom of conscience—to those practices which are a systematic warfare against human progress.

W. D. S., in No. 50, rebukes H. B. for his "dogmatism." Had I written I should have rebuked him for his accusations. H. B. commences by saying that "the greatest vice of the age is pandering to low and debasing superstition." It is "unaccountable" to H. B. that "the *Leader* should attempt to palliate error and defend an untenable position." He praises the "mental courage of those who avow a great principle regardless of prejudice," and then remarks that you "pause at the denial of immortality and the open avowal of Atheism." The whole purport of this is that you hold (what he supposes to be) Miss Martineau's principles (to whom he alludes), but lack her courage to say so—an accusation of inincerity as unwarrantable and uncourteous that I trust no Atheist would make it. He must be little competent to criticize opinion who can have read the *Leader* without perceiving that its chief writers are religious men, abounding in expressions which Atheists could never employ.

It seems to me that the *Leader* neither "palliates" truth nor error, but simply states its own convictions.

That which you "defend as tenable" is that which is tenable to you. Your journal does not avow Atheism because its chief writers have not any Atheism to avow. At the same time, after the example of the *Leader* has given of a chivalrous utterance of proscribed opinion, there cannot be the least doubt that it would avow Atheism if Atheism were one of its convictions.

The review of Miss Martineau's work is a striking instance of the *Leader*'s anti-Atheistical tendencies. It is not possible that a believer in Atheism could have written it. As a vindication of Harriet Martineau's right to utter her convictions, that review was worthy of the *Leader*, but as a refutation of her opinions it was (to us) the least cogent; the least satisfactory article that has appeared in the *Leader*'s columns. But allow me to remark that there is some misunderstanding with the press generally as to Miss Martineau's views as developed in her "Letters." Re-consideration will show that she is not an Atheist.

Not wishing to write to you again on this subject I will take this opportunity of observing that if H. B. is anxious to serve Atheism, he will not regard as of consequence any passing numerical depreciation of Atheists. To appear to obtrude our increasing numbers (which others will find out in due time) ourselves, may intensify bigotry by alarming the timid, or it may sound as a vaunt in the ears of those who examine the vague assertion that there are "thousands" of us among the working classes, and thousands more in the transition state. The subscribers to the *Reasoner* very little exceed three thousand persons, and it is by no means clear that these are all Atheists. Some of these are clergymen and other religious persons, merely curious to learn what we are about. Beyond these facts we have no statistics. What I am anxious to guard against, is the impression that we acknowledge, as of our party, that numerous class of persons in this country who are simply ignorant of, or indifferent to, religion; who will cavil at a prophecy, or sneer at an humble believer; but who are susceptible of no generous inspiration of moral truth, nor make any sacrifices to enlighten those whom they affect to regard as superstitious. This class of men are the unsatisfactory offspring of personal antagonism; not created by our teaching, but generated by the inconsistencies of Christian professors; and they may be known by their objections being levelled against the abuses of Christianity. If poor they are consistent in nothing but captiousness; if respectable, they go to Church, not merely to hear special sermons or remarkable preachers, which is useful, but as a custom in deference to the opinion of their neighbours or their business connections, not having the courage to brave the priest whom they despise. These we do not count, nor even another class who are simply neutral and negative. We only include those whose Atheism is active and fruitful, those who are Atheists not from reaction, but from examination and conviction, and whose rejection of Christian tenets is translatable into a clearer moral life, and into systematic and patient endeavours for the information of others. What numbers there are of this class it will be easy enough and time enough to calculate when we have influence enough to remove from the statute book that law of Oath-taking which one who signs himself "No Disciple of Miss Martineau" so opportunely shows in your last number is a statute of outlawry to us.

In the classification of Atheists which I have sketched, possibly your correspondent H. B. may agree; possibly he intended to include only those whom I here include, but on this point his letter was silent, and where silence may countenance a prevalent misconception it is virtually a misrepresentation; I therefore take the liberty of supplying the omission.

The position of the *Leader* with respect to religion admits of clear indication. Several appeals have been made in it in favour of a New Religious Reformation. Those who read those articles could hardly help feeling that they were as earnest as they were eloquent. The writers asked for a religious faith and a religious bond of union. All they demand is to be found in Francis William Newman's work upon the "Soul"—so far as my reading extends the noblest contribution to religious literature made in this country. All beyond that is Atheism. That book is the highest landmark yet furnished—an inimitable delineation of Freedom, Progress, and Religion—and of Unity for all who stand on Mr. Newman's ground, and, none of the *Leader* writers I have referred to, go beyond that; and, let me add, if the Church of the Future cannot be founded there, a Church of the Future is not possible.

Having thus explained in what manner (in our estimation) you stand upon the religious side, I have conscientiously testified to the integrity of your advocacy, which will not be impugned by any who advisedly call themselves Atheists.

Yours respectfully, GEORGE J. HOLYOAKE.

## ADULTERATION OF MILK AND CREAM.

March 20, 1851.

Sir,—I rejoice with you that at last public attention is directed to the adulteration of tea, coffee,

beer, &c., with an admixture of vile substances. Mr. Dean, of Shoreditch, was not able to overcome his reluctance the other day to even name one of the hideous compound which competition pours into the poor consumer's stomach, impudently calling it coffee. For your own inspection I hereby send you a sample of the burnt rubbish of which tons and tons are furnished every week to the coffee-dealers. Whether in the enclosed sample the unmentionable substance is included I cannot tell you, but I am pretty sure that peas, damaged rice, and powdered earth participate largely in it. I rejoice, I say, because the fact of my knowing that *tea*, amongst other ingredients, is adulterated by sloe-leaves: *coffee* by chicory, horse-beans, peas, damaged rice, dry biscuit, powdered earth, and the unmentionable compound; and *beer*, by treacle, liquorice, tobacco, colouring, colchicum, salts of tartar, dye, linseed, a compound of half-and-half of alum and of blue vitriol, capicum, grains of Paradise, coccus Indicus, orange peas, coriander seed, turmeric, logwood, copperas, quassia, and burnt carroll, has caused me to discontinue the use of those three beverages entirely.

But that is not the limit of my abstinence; milk, too, that innocent beverage, being ranged by the adulterating system amongst the nauseous and injurious drinks, I have long ago renounced partaking of; and, indeed, how could I continue to so grossly offend my stomach when I learned that what is sold in London as milk is nothing but water, adulterated by a certain quantity of milk, treacle, whiting, chalk, sheep and horse brains (of the latter substance proportionally a great deal more is mixed with cream than with that sky-blue liquid, miscalled milk). The scandalous adulteration of tea, and especially of coffee, is chiefly attributed to competition, and justly so, if we bear in mind the continually decreasing price of the two articles.

Now, Sir, if there be an excuse for this, the just-mentioned circumstance would be one for the grocers; but can the dairymen avail themselves of such one? I much doubt, Sir, whether in the memory of the oldest inhabitant of the metropolis, the general price of milk was ever higher than it now is, viz., 4d. a-quart; whilst every other thing, meat, bread, tea, sugar, clothing, house-rent, &c., &c., is now much cheaper than it was only ten years back. All that necessarily diminishes the expenditure of the dairyman's household.

I am, Sir, your most obedient servant, C. S.

## INDICT PARISHES FOR DANGEROUS PAVEMENT.

March 18, 1851.

Sir,—Your correspondent William Gallaway concludes his excellent remarks last week, upon the danger of wood pavement, by warning us that, if such "wholesale experiments upon the life, limbs, and property of the public are not checked in this crystal age, we may next hear of crystal blocks for London's streets." Now, this is not a vain apprehension; for what is here a vague fear has actually occurred in Manchester, where blocks, not exactly of crystal, indeed, but of crystalline stone, as slippery as glass, are used for paving-stones, to the terror of all horses, and to the injury and torture of all horses. It may be asked, how comes it that Manchester's shrewd men of business permit such folly? And such an inquiry is somewhat hard to answer. I presume the explanation is, that these very hard stones (which become very slippery because they are very hard) wear a long time, and, therefore, are less costly than others—to the surveyors, who entirely neglect the loss—which does not appear in their accounts—from injured, strained, and worn-out horses, from broken vehicles, and, occasionally, broken limbs and broken necks of those who trust themselves on horseback to ride over "the infernal Welsh sets," as they are appropriately designated.

I believe there is no legal doubt that those whose duty it is to maintain a road are liable to indictment if it be in bad repair or dangerous; and certainly the having entered into an imprudent contract with a wood-paving company or any one else would be no defence against the charge. I believe, also, there would be no difficulty in proving that wood pavement is dangerous; and, if so, the surveyors of those paving boards that, after its proved danger, persist in its use may doubtless be indicted with a fair chance of conviction. Mr. Gallaway's proposition to bring these cases before the courts appears to me, therefore, the most sensible plan to be adopted: till such time, at least, as the Government shall be prepared to fulfil its office, and practically teach the "petty parliaments" that so frequently—nay, so constantly—neglect their duties to the public, that the powers with which they are entrusted are not rights but trusts.

Yours, &c., X.

## HUDDERSFIELD MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT SOCIETY.

Philosophical-hall, Huddersfield, March 5, 1851.

Sir,—Having been waited upon by a deputation from the committee of the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institution, whose attention has been called to an account of the Mutual Improvement Society which

appeared in a late number of the *Leader*, which seemed to convey an idea that the society there referred to had its origin in, or was connected with, the Huddersfield Mechanics' Institution; will you permit me to explain that no connection whatever exists between the two. Indeed, I have ever had too much respect for the fundamental rule of that institution to make it a medium for conveying any peculiar ideas of my own. In fact, only eight members of the Mutual Improvement Society are or ever have been members of the Mechanics' Institution, and the joining of the Mutual Improvement Society was with them a spontaneous act, and in no way influenced by any statement of mine.

The publication of this disclaimer in your Journal will much oblige Your obedient servant,

M. M. NELSON.

[Mr. Nelson's letter has been delayed for some time by an accident. The confusion was occasioned by a wrong heading, which was added by a pen in our office to Mr. Nelson's account of the Mutual Improvement Society, and which set forth his statement as applied to the "Huddersfield Mechanics' Institution." The error, therefore, is attributable to us, and to us alone; and it ought not to have been charged either upon Mr. Nelson or upon Mr. Morgan, who introduced his excellent letter to us.]

#### PRIZE ESSAYS.

March 19, 1851.

SIR,—Herewith you will receive a £5 Bank of England note as a prize for the most meritorious essay upon the subject,—"Self-Examination;" being an Approval or Condemnation by Conscience.

Essays have not yet been received on the former subject, proposed in the *Leader* of the 22nd ultimo. The prize, therefore, remains open for essays upon "Innocence, being Abstinence from Vice."

The competitive essays on each subject may be sent to C. C., No. 8, King William-street, West Strand, not later than the middle of April.

I remain, Sir, yours truly,

A CONSTANT READER.

#### HEALTH OF LONDON DURING THE WEEK.

(From the Registrar-General's Report.)

It is matter of regret that this return exhibits a condition of the public health in London still more unsatisfactory than was reported in the previous week. The widely-diffused illness, which has become the subject of common observation, produced in the week ending last Saturday 1401 deaths, a rate of mortality exceeding that which usually prevails at a season of the year more inauspicious than the present. The deaths rose to 1213 in the middle of February, when the weekly increase began; then, having declined to 1148, they rose in the last two weeks to 1247 and 1401. The epidemic influenza of 1847-8, which quickly swelled the mortality of one week to more than 2400, had nearly disappeared in March of the latter year; but its effects were still visible in the returns, and the number of deaths was then 1118, the highest in the ten weeks (of 1847-50) which correspond to that ending last Saturday. The average of the ten corresponding weeks was only 993; or, corrected for assumed increase of population, 1083; on which the present return shows an increase of 318. Among diseases bronchitis has produced the greatest number of fatal cases; 171 were attributed to this cause, the number in the previous week having been 160, or double the usual amount at this time. Phthisis or consumption carried off 166 persons last week, while the corrected average is 154.

#### Commercial Affairs.

##### MONEY MARKET AND CITY INTELLIGENCE.

SATURDAY.

The market for English Funds has exhibited very little animation this week. Consols were quoted as high as 96½ to 96¾ on Monday, since which they have undergone various slight variations. The closing price yesterday was 96½ to 96¾.

The fluctuations in stocks generally have been as follows:—Consols, 96½ to 96¾; Exchequer Bills, 52s. to 56s. premium.

In Foreign Securities the chief business done during the week has been in Mexican and Spanish Bonds. The transactions yesterday comprised—Brazilian Old Bonds, Five per Cent., 93. Buenos Ayres, Six per Cent. Bonds, 54. 55. Chilean Bonds, Six per Cent., 106. 106½; ditto, Three per Cent., 65. Mexican Bonds, 33. 33½; ditto, for account, 33. 4. Peruvian Deferred Bonds, 38. Portuguese Four per Cent. Bonds, 33; ditto, for account, 34. Spanish Passives, 5½. 1; ditto, Three per Cent., 33. Venezuela Bonds, Two-and-a-Half per Cent., 33. Dutch Bonds, Two-and-a-Half per Cent., 58½; ditto, Four per Cent. Certificates, 91½.

MARK-LANE, FRIDAY, March 21.

Supplies of grain moderate. Wheat, Barley, and Oats firm at former rates. Floating cargoes of Polish Odessa Wheat, 33s. to 34s. 6d. At country markets during the week prices were firm, with in some cases an advance of 1s. per quarter on Wheat.

Arrivals from March 17 to 21:—

	English.	Irish.	Foreign.
Wheat .. .	1370	—	8760
Barley .. .	1640	—	2390
Oats.. .	510	4100	7050
Flour .. .	1710	—	6130

#### BRITISH FUNDS FOR THE PAST WEEK.

(Closing Prices.)

	Satur.	Mond.	Tues.	Wedn.	Thurs.	Frid.
Bank Stock ....	—	—	215	—	215½	—
3 per Ct. Bid ..	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p. C. An. Ans.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3 p. C. An. 1726.	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 p. Ct. Con. As.	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
3d p. Cent. An.	—	—	—	—	—	—
New 5 per Cts.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Long Ann., 1820.	—	7 9-16	7 9-16	—	7 9-16	—
Ind. St. 10½ p. ct.	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ditto Bonds ..	62 p	64 p	62 p	57 p	61 p	62 p
Ex. Bills, 10000.	56 p	56 p	56 p	56 p	55 p	55 p
Ditto, 5000.	56 p	—	56 p	56 p	55 p	55 p
Ditto, Small.	56 p	—	56 p	56 p	55 p	55 p

#### FOREIGN FUNDS.

(Last Official Quotation during the Week ending Friday Evening.)

Austrian 5 per Cents.	96	Mexican 5 per Ct. Acc.	33½
Austrian Old Bonds.	42 p. Ct.	—	—
Brazilian 5 per Cents.	91½	Neapolitan 5 per Cents.	—
Chilean Ayres 5 per Cents.	51½	Peruvian 4½ per Cents.	—
Chilian 3 per Cents.	66½	Portuguese 5 per Cents.	35½
Danish 5 per Cents.	100½	—	4 per Cts.
Dutch 2½ per Cents.	58½	Russian, 1822, 4½ p. Cts.	97½
—	91½	Span. Actives, 5 p. Cts. 21	5½
Ecuador Bonds ..	—	Passive ..	5
French 5 p. C. An. at Paris.	94.25	Deferred ..	—
—	3 p. Cts., Mar. 21, 37.85		

#### SHARES.

Last Official Quotation for the Week ending Friday Evening.

	RAILWAYS.	BANKS.	
Aberdeen ..	17	Australasian ..	33½
Bristol and Exeter ..	85	British North American ..	42½
Caledonian ..	15½	Colonial ..	12½
Eastern Counties ..	8	Commercial of London ..	25
Edinburgh and Glasgow ..	37	London and Westminster ..	27½
Great Northern ..	18½	London Joint Stock ..	—
Great S. & W. (Ireland) ..	44	National of Ireland ..	—
Great Western ..	89½	National Provincial ..	—
Lancashire and Yorkshire ..	63	Provincial of Ireland ..	43
London and Brighton ..	96	Union of Australia ..	3½
London and Blackwall ..	8½	Union of London ..	12½
London and N.-Western ..	131	MINES.	
Midland ..	63½	Bolanos ..	—
North British ..	10½	Brazilian Imperial ..	—
South-Eastern and Dover ..	28½	Ditto, St. John del Rey ..	—
South-Western ..	8½	Cobre Copper ..	—
York, Newcas., & Berwick ..	22	MISCELLANEOUS.	
York and North Midland ..	28½	Australian Agricultural ..	15
St. Katharine ..	—	Canada ..	46
		General Steam ..	27½
		Penins. & Oriental Steam ..	72½
		Royal Mail Steam ..	73
		South Australian ..	21

	GRAIN, MARK-LANE, March 21.
Wheat, R. New	35s. to 37s.
Fine ..	37 — 39
Old ..	36 — 38
White ..	38 — 40
Fine ..	42 — 44
Superior New ..	40 — 44
Rye ..	21 — 25
Barley ..	18 — 19
Malting ..	22 — 24
Malt, Ord.	41 — 46
Fine ..	48 — 50
Peas, Hog ..	21 — 25
Maple ..	28s. to 30s.
White ..	23 — 25
Boilers ..	25 — 26
Beans, Ticks ..	23 — 24
Old ..	28 — 30
Indian Corn ..	28 — 30
Oats, Feed ..	15 — 17
Fine ..	17 — 18
Poland ..	18 — 19
Potato ..	17 — 20
Fine ..	17 — 18
Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.	
Wheat ..	37s. 3d.
Barley ..	22 10
Peas ..	25 6
Oats ..	16 3

#### GENERAL AVERAGE PRICE OF GRAIN.

WEEK ENDING March 15.

	Imperial General Weekly Average.
Wheat ..	37s. 3d.
Barley ..	23 1
Oats ..	16 6
	Peas ..
	Aggregate Average of the Six Weeks.
Wheat ..	37s. 3d.
Barley ..	22 10
Oats ..	16 3

#### FROM THE LONDON GAZETTE.

Tuesday, March 18.

Friday, March 21.

S. TIBBETS, Shuckburgh, Warwickshire, dealer in mineral oils, March 31, April 28; solicitors, Mr. Kirby, Warwick; and Messrs. Motteram, Knight, and Emmet, Birmingham; official assignee, Mr. Christie, Birmingham—J. FARLEY, Liverpool, ironmonger; assignee, Mr. Cavenove, Liverpool—T. DEAN, Seacombe, Cheshire, chemist, April 3 and 23; solicitor, Mr. Toulin, Liverpool; Bolton-le-Moors, glass and china dealer, April 14 and 28; solicitor, Mr. Marsland, Bolton-le-Moors; official assignee, Mr. Fraser, Manchester—J. L. HORROCKS, Manchester, merchant, April 3, May 2; solicitors, Messrs. Lunell, Lunell, and Barnes, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Lee, Manchester.

HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE. The Nobility, Subscribers, and the Public are respectfully informed that this THEATRE will OPEN THIS EVENING, SATURDAY, MARCH 22, when will be performed Donizetti's Opera, entitled

LUCIA DI LAMMERMOOR.

In which Miss Caroline Duprez will make her first appearance. To be followed by a NEW and ORIGINAL BALLET:

Composed by M. Paul Taglioni; the Music by M. Nadai;

Ferraris will appear.

The Grand Opera of

GUSTAVUS

is in active preparation.

The part of "Madame Ankerstrom" will be supported by Madame Florentini. The part of "Oscar," by Miss Caroline Duprez; and "Gustavus," by Signor Calzolari.

HER MAJESTY'S THEATRE. Mlle. CAROLINE DUPREZ.

It is respectfully announced that the departure of Miss Duprez from Paris having been postponed until an earlier period than anticipated, she will make her first appearance in this country THIS EVENING, Saturday, March 22.

ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA, COVENT-GARDEN.

THE DIRECTORS OF THE ROYAL ITALIAN OPERA beg most respectfully to inform the Nobility, Gentry, Subscribers, and the Public that the Season of 1851, will commence on SATURDAY, MARCH 22, and continue open every Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday during the Season.

The ENGAGEMENTS for the present Season are:—

SOPRANO.

Madame GRISI,

Madame CASTELLAN,

Mademoiselle GIUSEPPINA MORRA (Her First Appearance in England),

And Madame VIARDOT.

CONTRALTO.

Mademoiselle VINTALE (Her First Appearance in England),

And Mademoiselle ANGRI (Her First Appearance these Two Years).

SECONDA DONNA.

Mademoiselle COITI.

TENORE.

Signor MARIO,

Signor ENRICO MARALTI,

Signor LUIGI MEI,

Signor SOLDI,

And Signor TAMBELLIK.

BASSI BARITONI.

Signor RONCONI,

Signor ROMMI,

And Signor SALVATORE (From the San Carlo at Naples, and the Grand Opera at Brescia, his First Appearance in England).

BASSI PROFONDI.

Herr FORMES,

Signor TAGLIACICO,

Signor POLONINI,

Signor GREGORIO,

Signor FERRARI,

Signor RACHE,

AND

Signor BIANCHI (From the Royal Italian Opera at Berlin, his first appearance in England).

Director of the Music, Composer, and Conductor, Mr. COSTA.

Boxes and Stalls may be engaged and full particulars obtained at the Box Office of the Theatre, which is open from Eleven until Five o'clock.

HENRY RUSSELL (from America) will give his VOCAL and PICTORIAL ENTERTAINMENT, entitled the FAR WEST, or the Emigrant's Progress from the Old World to the New, at the Royal Olympic Theatre, commencing on Monday, April 14, and four successive nights. Mr. Russell will introduce his new compositions—"The piano-roll," "Cheer, boys, cheer; no more of idle sorrow"; "Gaily goes the ship when the winds blow fast"; "Land, land, to the west; to the west, to the land of the free"; "The Falls of Niagara" &c., and several of his favourite compositions. The principal features of this entertainment are by no means intended to be looked upon solely in the light of a mere entertaining exhibition. It is intended to instruct as well as to amuse; to instruct, moreover, in one of the most profoundly and practically important subjects which can be offered to the notice of the English people. The succession of pictures, constituting the exhibition, are no mere fancy sketches. They do not represent scenes which few or none save rich tourists or professional travellers can ever hope to visit. They do not apply to the limited interest of certain classes, with reference to the architectural beauty or the historic associations of the countries delineated; on the contrary, they are thoroughly practical pictures—transcripts from the daily lives of hundreds of thousands of our countrymen and women—representing scenes which hundreds more are thinking of encountering—scenes in which practicable and reliable information is always in eager demand—scenes, in fact, appealing directly to the deepest interests and most cherished propensities of the multitudes who are daily making up their minds to seek better fortunes and brighter days over the boundless plains, and by the other broad rivers of the West. Mr. Russell will perform upon Messrs. Kirkman and Son's Grand Piano. Doors open at Half-past Seven, to commence at Eight o'clock. Stalls, 3s.; dress circle, 2s.; pit, 1s.; gallery, 6d. Private boxes, £1 10s., and £1 6d. each. Tickets, places, and private boxes to be had of Mr. W. Simmonds, at the box-office, from eleven until five daily, and after half-past six in the evening.

**PALMER and CLAYTON,** Steam-Machine and General Printers, 10, Crane-court, Fleet-street, beg to inform Capitalists desirous of establishing Newspapers or Periodicals, Booksellers, Newspaper Proprietors, and the Public generally, that they shall be happy to give Estimates for any portion of the Printing business. Jobbing of all kinds. Copperplate and Lithographic Printing.

**PALMER and CLAYTON** venture to refer with some pleasure to the appearance of the *Spectator*, *The Leader*, *Lady's Newspaper*, *The Expositor*, *Nonconformist*, *English Churchman*, &c. &c., as specimens of their style of executing Printing—10, Crane-court, Fleet-street, 1851.

**COUGHS, INFLUENZA, BRONCHITIS**—  
KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES, which are so strongly recommended by the faculty (testimonials from the most eminent of whom may be inspected) are in daily request at this most inclement season as a safe, speedy, and most efficacious remedy for Coughs, Bronchitis, Influenza (now very prevalent), and all disorders of the chest and lungs.

Prepared and sold in boxes, from 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d., and 10s. 6d. each, by THOMAS KEATING, Pharmaceutical Chemist, 79, St. Paul's-churchyard, London. Sold by all Drug-gists.

**CURE OF ASTHMA OF SEVERAL YEARS' STANDING.**  
"Cainscross, near Stroud, Gloucestershire,  
"March 20, 1850.

"Sir.—Having been troubled with Asthma for several years, I could find no relief from any medicine whatever until I was induced about two years ago to try a box of your valuable Lozenges, and found such relief from them that I am determined for the future never to be without a box of them in the house, and will do all in my power to recommend them to my friends.

"If you consider the above Testimonial of any advantage, you are quite at liberty to make what use of it you please.  
"I am, Sir, your most obliged servant,  
"Thos. Keating, Esq.  
"29, St. Paul's Churchyard.

**A CURE OF FIFTY YEARS' ASTHMATIC COUGH** at the age of Sixty-six by DR. LOCOCK'S PULMONIC WAFERS.

From Mr. William Tomlinson, bookseller, 13, Stodman-street, Newark.—

"A lady of this town (whom I can refer one to privately), who is now in the sixty-sixth year of her age, has been afflicted with a most violent asthmatic cough ever since she was fifteen years old. For many years she has been constantly under medical attendance, and all means tried in vain to remove her complaint. About two months ago she was induced, though at the time apparently on the brink of the grave—to try the above medicine, which, through the Divine blessing, has not only removed her cough, but her lungs appear quite regenerated; her appetite, rest, &c., have returned, and her general health is wonderfully improved."

Price 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., and 11s. per box. Sold by all Drug-gists. Also

**DR. LOCOCK'S FEMALE WAFERS.**  
The best medicine for Females. Price 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d., and 11s. per box.

\* ALL PILLS UNDER SIMILAR NAMES ARE COUNTERFEITS.

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